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MARY MARTIN, KOTAGIRI,
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LATER HINDU CIVILISATION

LATER HINDU CIVILISATION

A. D. 500 TO A. D. 1200

(BASED ON SANSKRIT LITERATURE)

By

ROMESH CHANDRA DUTT

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PREFACE

It is with mingled feelings of pleasure and diffidence that I now place this completed work before the public. The great task of compiling for the first time a connected and clear history of the Ancient Hindus requires greater leisure and more extensive reading than I can lay claim to. Years of study, often interrupted, enabled me, however, to grasp the leading facts, and during the last three years I have worked continuously in moments spared from official duties to arrange these facts in their present shape. The first chapters on the Vedic Age were commenced in April 1887, the last chapters on the Puranic Age have been revised in March 1890. The work, such as it is, is now placed in the hands of my indulgent countrymen, for whom it has been written.

The reception which my countrymen have given to the first volume has surpassed my most sanguine expectations. The entire edition of a thousand copies has been nearly exhausted before the last volume is out, and a second edition has been called for, and will be shortly taken in hand. More gratifying to me were the requests which were made, and which have been gladly acceded to, for permission to translate the work into the vernaculars of Bombay, Madras, and the North-Western Provinces. And equally encouraging to me were the numerous inquiries, congratulations, and expressions of the sympathy which I have received from all parts of India testifying to the interest which has been taken in this somewhat novel venture. I am too keenly aware of the imperfections of my rude attempt to ascribe the success of the work to its merits; and I can only suppose, therefore, that the demand for a readable handbook of this nature was so great among my countrymen, that they have consented to accept the article even from such a clumsy workman as myself.

I take this opportunity also to thankfully acknowledge the valued opinions, notices, and reviews with which many scholars in this country and in Europe have honoured this work. A popular work of this nature can scarcely be accept-

able to scholars who have devoted their lifetime to all the minutiæ of Indian antiquities, and I feel therefore all the more grateful for the cordial and favourable acceptance which it has received at their hands. My sincere acknowledgments are due to Doctors Roth, Weber, and Max Muller, and several other scholars.

Of greater value to me than these favourable notices are the criticisms of some of these scholars on certain portions of my work, and it is due to my readers that I should indicate the main points on which my views have not always received assent. It is necessary to do this, if only to guard my readers from accepting my conclusions in all cases, and to induce them to form their own judgments on the facts.

Scholars belonging to the orthodox section of my countrymen have not always accepted my account of Vedic civilisation. Life in the Vedic Age, they hold, was more "spiritual," more pious. and contemplative in its tone and character, and they are scarcely prepared to accept my account of the rude self-assertion and boisterous greed for conquests of the Vedic warriors. On the other hand, some European scholars think that I have represented Vedic civilisation in too favourable a light. M. Barth, who did me the honour of favourably noticing in Paris my chapters on the Vedic Period when they first appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, expressed his opinion that my account should be accepted with some degree of caution. And Dr. Kern, who has published a favourable review of the first volume of the present work in a Dutch journal, states that opinion is divided as to the characters of the Vedic civilisation. Some scholars delight in describing all that was robust and manly and straightforward in the character of the Vedic Hindus, while others portray their coarseness and imperfections. Dr. Kern is of opinion that I have adhered to the first school of opinion, but that the truth lies midway.

I am not aware that I have tried to keep back the robust rudeness—coarseness if you like—of the civilisation of the Vedic Age. But I confess that, like most modern Hindus, subject to all the drawbacks of a later and more artificial

civilisation, I feel a warm appreciation for the manly freedom of ancient Hindu civilisation and life. I have sought to portray this prominently in my account of the Vedic Period and in my description of later ages I have not hesitated to point out emphatically and repeatedly how much we lack in all that was healthy and free, unrestricted and life-giving in the ancient Hindu institutions and social rules. It is a truth which we Hindus need bear in mind.

Coming now to the Epic Age, scholars are generally agreed that the caste system of India first took its rise in this period. But here again we should ever remember that caste rules, with all their potential evils, served in this early period as a sort of moral code for the Aryan Hindus, and tended to unite them by classing them in three great sections, with sanction for inter-caste marriage and religious instruction for all. The caste system of the Epic Period was no more like the system of to-day than the Feudal institutions of the Middle Ages, which had their object and their use, were like the baronial oppression of the eighteenth century in France. As it was neither possible nor desirable under changed circumstances to restore the old institution of the Middle Ages, the living nations of Europe swept away its debased and oppressive substitute which flourished down to the last century.

The account of Buddhism has necessarily taken up a good deal of space in my narrative of the Rationalistic Period. My appreciation of Buddhism has been criticised, and many friendly critics have reminded me that Buddhist precepts, literally obeyed, would not hold the world together, but would lead nations to subjection, to inaction, and to beggary. This is not the place to enter into a controversy on the subject, but I may be permitted to point out that a religion cannot be criticised on this spirit, and that the teachings of the pure-souled Jesus have not been thus criticised. He too recommended a relinquishment of the world and unresisting submission to wrongs and injuries, but neither he nor Gautama intended that men should cease to be men. Religion holds before us great models and perfect ideals or virtues like charity, love, and unselfishness ; and these ideals, conveyed in precepts or

commandments, legends or parables, have their effect on our moral nature and on our actions, in our eternal and selfish struggle in this world. Let us be candid then, and concede that Gautama's ideals were lofty and holy ; that his message of the equality of men, proclaimed to the caste-stricken people of India, was large-hearted and benevolent ; and that his religion, which imparts moral lessons to a third of the world's population, is beautiful and great.

On another, and a more delicate point, I expected my position would be assailed. My account of the historical connection between Buddhism and the rise of Christianity has been questioned. But enough, I hold, has been discovered to prove that connection, and we can afford calmly to await the result of future researches. I do not hesitate to maintain, though few Christian writers will agree with me, that the world owes to India that higher system of ethics and nobler code of morality which distinguish the modern religion from the religions of the ancient world.

The edicts of Asoka have thrown a flood of light on his administration and his times ; and numerous other inscriptions which have been read elucidate many facts relating to the regal dynasties of the different provinces of India. But for an account of the people, their customs. laws, and manners, we must turn to the code of Manu and to the account of the Chinese traveller Fa Hian. When we have compared these two records, we know how the Hindus saw themselves, and how they were seen by others.

The Puranic Age opens with the sixth century A.D., when there was a renaissance in literature, science, and religion. This opinion, which is now held by most scholars, is not however, acceded to by all. My kind critic Dr. Buhler has pointed out that the Kavya literature flourished during the early centuries of the Christian Era ; that Chandragupta II. and his father Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty were celebrated patrons of poetry and learning in the fifth and fourth centuries A.D. : and that it cannot therefore be asserted that there was a renaissance in Sanskrit literature in the sixth century A.D.

I have in the present volume admitted all the facts kindly

pointed out by my learned critic, but I demur to his conclusion. Kavya literature no doubt had its commencement in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian Era, just as modern Englis poetry had its commencement with Chaucer and Gower. But nevertheless the sixth century A. D., which I take to be the era of Vikramaditya and Kalidasa, marked a real revival and renaissance of Sanskrit literature, as the age of Elizabeth and Shakespeare marked a real revival of English literature. It was the commencement of a new epoch, marked by an upheaval of the national mind.

In order properly to comprehend the history of the national mind in the Puranic Age, we must compare the Puranic literature with the account of the Hindus from the discriminating and friendly pen of Houen Tsang. And the impression which is left on the mind of the civilisation of the age is pleasing. A great storm then swept through India in the dark ages, and when the Rajputs became masters of India at the close of the tenth century, the Modern Age begins. We have a picture of this age from the pen of Alberuni, and the impression which Alberuni's account leaves on the mind of the Hindu is a sad one. I have not sought to suppress this sad portion of our national story ; rather have I tried to tell it fully and impressively, so that we may now learn to turn to a brighter page of our national existence. If the present work contributes in any degree towards this result, if it helps us to sink our social disunion, to cast asunder hurtful restrictions, and to turn towards that unpolluted stream of religion, morality, and knowledge which are our birthright, my labours humble and unworthy as they are, have not been altogether in vain.

R. C. DUTT

Mymensing District, Bengal,
March, 14, 1890.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Based on data copiously drawn from Sanskrit sources. this volume is a verbatim reprint of Book V of Dutt's famous book *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, a pioneer work on the subject which saw the light of day towards the close of the 19th century.

It deals with the Vedic, Epic and Rationalistic Periods from A. D. 500 to 1000, and dwels upon the races and cultures of the early Hindus—their literature, social life and religious doctrines—as envisaged in the Vedas, Upanishads, Puranas, Dharma Shastras, Srutis and Smritis.

The Publisher has strictly adhered to the original text, except that it has been necessary to make a slight changes in spelling of proper names here and there according to the modern standard.

It is needless to add that, as a fair-minded historian and critic Dutt comes out well in all that he writes about early Hindu civilization, and disentangles the confused history of Ancient India of the first few centuries with much success, considering the extreme difficulty of the subject.

It is an invaluable source-book of authoritative information, a class by itself, opening out new paths for students of historical researches and providing ample material for stimulating thought on a subject which should make a special appeal to our countrymen at the present moment.

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PURANIC PERIOD, A. D. 500 TO 1200.

CHAPTER I.

VIKRAMADITYA THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS

WESTERN India had been the scene of foreign invasions for seven centuries. After the death of Asoka the Great and the decline of his dynasty, Bactrians and Indo-Parthians. Yu-chi conquerors and the white Huns had poured into India from the west and spread their conquest far and wide. The last invaders were the worst, and we have seen how the Huns under Mihirakula wrecked the Gupta empire. At last a great defender arose in King Yasodharman of Malwa who is known to us as Vikramaditya the Great. He allied himself with Baladitya, King of Magadha, and defeated Mihirakula in a great battle in A. D. 528. Yasodharman on Vikramaditya erected two columns of victory to commemorate this battle, and declared himself master of Northern India from the Brahmaputra to the western ocean. And India was freed from foreign invasions from the west for five centuries after the defeat and expulsion of the Huns.

This expulsion of the foreign invaders had the happiest results. The arts of peace flourished with the return of peace. The courts of kings as well as large towns became the centres of luxury and wealth, industries and manufactures. Science raised her head, and modern Hindu astronomy obtained a fresh start. Poetry and the Drama lighted their magic lamps, and spread light and gladness on the Hindu mind. Religion itself gathered strength and life, and Hinduism in its new and Puranic form sought to win back the people from the ranks of Buddhism.

Buddhism had never assumed a hostile attitude towards the parent religion of India ; and the fact that the two religions existed side by side for long centuries increased their toleration of each other. In every country Buddhists and orthodox Hindus lived side by side. Hindus went to Buddhist monasteries and universities, and Buddhists learned from Brahman sages. The same kings favoured the followers of both systems of religion. The Gupta emperors were often worshippers of Siva and Vishnu, but loaded Buddhists and Buddhist monasteries with gifts, presents, and favours. One king was often a Buddhist and his son an orthodox Hindu ; and often two brothers followed or favoured the two religions without fighting. Every court had learned men belonging to both the religions, Vikramaditya's court was no exception to the rule.

We will speak of the great writers of Vikrama's court when we come to treat of literature and science, but our account of Vikrama's rule will not be complete without some mention, however brief, of those writers here.

A verse naming the nine gems[1] of Vikrama's court is known to every Pandit in India. In an inscription of Buddha Gaya dated Samvat 1015, or 948 A. D., we find the following passage :—"Vikramaditya was certainly a king renowned in the world. So in his court were nine learned men known under the epithet of *nava-ratnani*." The antiquity of the tradition is thus beyond question.

Kalidasa is the central figure among these noted literary men. We read in the Rajatarangini that, after the death of Toramana, his son Pravarasena was unable to assert his claim to the throne of Kashmir, and that Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, the recognised emperor of India, sent an eminent poet of his court, Matrigupta by name, to rule in Kashmir. Matrigupta ruled till the death of his patron, when he retired as a Yati to Benares, and Pravarasena succeeded in Kashmir. Dr. Bhao Daji first started the bold theory that this Matrigupta

1 They are Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetalabhatta, Ghatakarpara, Kalidasa, Varahamihira, and Vararuchi.

is no other than the poet Kalidasa. We need not mention in detail the reasons given by that scholar for his supposition, and need only state that though they are plausible, they are not convincing. On the other hand Kshemendra, a poet of Kashmir, has, in a critical work which he has left, treated Kalidasa and Matrigupta as different poets, and Kshemendra's authority on this point must be held as conclusive.

We next come to the poet Bharavi, the author of the Kiratarjuniya. He does not appear to have flourished in the court of Vikramaditya, but an inscription has been found, dated 637 A. D., in which his name and that of Kalidasa are mentioned. If he was not a contemporary of Kalidasa, he certainly lived in the sixth century A. D.

Amara Sinha, the writer of the best known dictionary in Sanskrit, was one of the "nine gems," and was a Buddhist. His work was translated into Chinese in the sixth century, and he is said to have built the Buddhist temple at Buddha Gaya.[2]

In astronomy, Aryabhatta was the first writer of the Puranic Period. He was born, as he tells us, in 476 A. D.[3] He did not belong to Vikramaditya's court; he was born in Pataliputra, and made his mark early in the sixth century. before Vikramaditya became renowned.

Varahamihira,[4] who followed Aryabhatta, was one of the "nine gems." He was a native of Avanti, and died in 587 A. D.

His successor Brahmagupta was born at the very close of the sixth century, in 598 A. D., and wrote his work when he was thirty years of age, in 628 A. D. Brahmagupta's father was Jishnu, and may have been the very Jishnu mentioned as one of the contemporaries of Kalidasa.

Of the remaining "gems" of Vikrama's court; Dhanvantari

2 See discussions on the subject in Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Buddha Gaya.*

3 Dr. Bhao Daji on the age of Aryabhatta.

4 The Fourth Varahamihira. We get five Varahamihiras in the Indian History, the last flourishing in the time of Akbar (see Prabasi, Kartik 1317)

was a famous physician, and is mentioned by Dandin in his Dasa Kumara Charita. Vetalabhatta was the author of Nitipradipa, and Vararuchi was a wellknown grammarian. Ghatakarpara, Sanku, and Kshapanaka are little known ; and posterity has not held them in the same honour in which they were held in the royal court of Vikrama.

We are now able to form some idea of the great literary activity which marked Vikramaditya's age, and has shed an undying lustre round his name. We are able, after a lapse of over thirteen centuries, to form some conception of the upheaval of the Hindu mind and the rise of literary genius which marked the revival of Hinduism. We can imagine how after a prostration of centuries, after harassing wars and invasions, the national mind suddenly rose to vigour, to greatness, to glory. The nation wanted a leader, and Vikramaditya, the conqueror of the foreigners, the master of all Northern India, the enlightened patron of genius and learning, be it Buddhist or be it Hindu, stood forth as the leader. The times called for a great man, and the great man appeared. And the nation gathered round their great king, and achieved results in literature and science, such as were seldom achieved before.

Thus if we try to read history carefully and aright, if we brush aside fables and exaggerations, we can understand each period of Indian History philosophically, and trace each result to its true cause. We trace the greatness of Vikramaditya himself to the circumstances by which he was surrounded ; we understand the matchless flights of Kalidasa's fancy in the light of the general exhilaration of the Hindu spirit in his time ; we appreciate the labours of Varahamihira and Amara Sinha, incited as they were by a spirit of emulation, in a very learned court ; and we understand a healthy rivalry between Hindu and Buddhists at a time when difference of opinion had not degenerated into intolerance and persecution. Buddhism was decaying and Hinduism was reviving and naturally enough the reviving religion showed the greatest signs of vigour, of learning of genius.

After Vikramaditya the Great, Siladitya Pratapasila

became the master of Northern India about 550 A.D. We know from Houen Tsang that he was inclined towards Buddhism, and in his court, Vasubandhu, the pupil of Manoratha, was honoured, and won a great victory in controversy over the Hindu party. Vasubandhu was the son of a Brahman, and was the brother of the famous Asanga. He studied in Kashmir, returned to Magadha, became a Pundit in the University of Nalanda, and died in Nepal. We do not know of any other great men of Siladitya's court.

Siladitya I, was succeeded by Prabhakara Vardhana probably about 580 A.D. Pravakara's sister Rajyasri was mrried to Grahavarman, but a war broke out with Malava, and Prabhakara was defeated and Grahavarman was killed,

Prabhakara was succeeded by Rajyavardhana about 605 A. D. Rajyavardhana continued the war with Malava and slew the king of that country. We know from Houen Tsang that Rajyavardhana was afterwards defeated and killed by Sasanka Narendra Gupta, king of Karna Suvarna or Western Bengal.

He was succeeded by his younger brother Siladitya II., called Harshavardhana and also Kumararaja, about 610 A. D. He was a great and powerful king, and, both by his conquests and by his patronage of learning, revived the memories of Vikramaditya's reign. In six years he conquered the "five Indies;" but he could never defeat Pulakesin II., king of the Maharashtras. The Malavas were defeated and Rajyasri was recovered, and Siladitya made an alliance with Bhaskara-varman, the king of Kamarupa, who was also known as Kumararaja.

A copper seal of Harshavardhana or Siladitya II. has been discovered, and gives us his genealogy. The inscription is short, and informs us that Adityavardhana was the son of Rajyavardhana and Mahadevi; Prabhakaravardhana was the son of Adityavardhana and Mahasenagupta; Rajyavardhana was the son of Prabhakaravardhana and Yasomati; and Prabhakara's younger brother Harshavardhana was also begotten on Yasomati.[5]

5. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. iii.; Texts, &c., p. 232.

We know from Houen Tsang that Siladitya had his capital at Kanyakubja or Kanouj, and that he held every five years a great assemblage of princes and people to celebrate a religious festival. We also know that Siladitya was a staunch Buddhist, though he respected and honoured Brahmans.

Siladitya Harshavardhana was a renowned patron of letters, and is said to be the auther of Ratnavali and the Buddhist drama Nagananda. But probably he was the real author of neither, though both the works were composed in his court. The Ratnavali was probably composed by Banabhatta, the author of Kadamvari and of Harshacharita, a life of the king. Dandin, the author of Dasakumara Charita lived before Banabhatta and after Kalidasa, and alludes to Kalidasa. It is probable that Dandin was still living, when Banabhatta followed in his footsteps in the more ambitious fiction of the Kadamvari.

The other well-known prose fiction in Sanskrit is the Vasavadatta of Subandhu, and he too was a contemporary of Banabhatta, though he may have written a little earlier, as Banabhatta often quotes him. We thus approximately know the dates of the three best prose fictions in Sanskrit.

The name of Mayura is often mentioned in connection with the name of Banabhatta, and a legend has it that Bana married Mayura's daughter, a Chandi, or scold Mayura is the author of Mayura Sataka.

A more renowned name is that of Bhartrihari. In a most interesting note.[6] Professor Max Muller shows, on the authority of the Chinese traveller I-tsing, that Bhartrihari died about 650 A. D., or in other words, that the author of the three Satakas on Love, Discipline, and Tranquillity, was a contemporary of Siladitya II.

The Bhattikavya, being an easy and entertaining method of learning grammar, is better known to Hindu students than the Satakas of Bhartrihari. Commentators of the Bhattikavya like Kandarpa, Vidyavinoda, and Sridhara Svamin call Bhartrihari the author of Bhatti. The name Bhartri has

6. India, &c., p. 347 &c.

frequently been called Bhatti by other commentators, and, on the whole, there is the strongest presumption that the author of the Satakas and of the Bhattikavya is the same person, Bhartri or Bhatti. Professor Max Muller adduces the testimony of the Chinese traveller named above to confirm this presumption.

Such was the literary activity of the time of Siladitya the great emperor of Kanouj, who assembled the kings and nations of Northern India at his quinquennial festivals, and swayed the destinies of all Northern India. We have seen before that the astronomer Brahmagupta also lived in the time of this potentate.

Siladitya died about 648 or 650 A. D. Fifty years later, a weak prince reigned on the throne of the great Siladitya. The prowess and glory of Kanouj were gone, and Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj, was defeated in war by the proud Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir. The lamp of literature, lighted in Ujjayini two centuries before, still shone, however, in the court of Yasovarman ; and one of the greatest poets that India has produced, Bhavabhuti, lived in that prince's court. He is almost the last of that bright galaxy of poets who appeared in India between the sixth and the eighth centuries A. D. The Rajatarangini, from which we get this information, further tells us that two other writers, Vakpati and Rajyasri, also lived under Yasovarman's patronage.

If these three centuries, 500 to 800 A. D., are reckoned as the brightest period in the annals of later Sanskrit literature, those centuries also mark the period of toleration and friendly rivalry between the Hindus and the Buddhists. But controversies between the followers of the rival creeds were going on all this time, and the great Sankaracharya, who was born about the close of the eighth century, was the strongest champion of reviving Hinduism and the strongest opponent of Buddhism.

The Dark ages then followed, and between 805 and 1000 A. D. there is not one bright name in the history of Hindu literature, science, or art.

CHAPTER II

HOUEN TSANG'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA.

WE now come to the records of the most eminent of Chinese travellers, Houen Tsang, whose story has shed a flood of light on the state of India in the seventh century.[1] He left China in 629 A. D. and came through Ferganah, Sumarkand, Bokhara, and Balk, to India, where he lived and travelled for many years, and finally returned to China in 645 A. D. At the commencement of his account of India, he gives a general description of the arts and manners of the Hindus, which we will consider further on. We proceed now with the traveller's account of the Hindu kingdoms he visited.

NAGARAHARA, the old capital of the Jelalabad district, was four miles in circuit. The country was rich in cereals and fruits, the manners of the people were simple and honest, and their disposition ardent and courageous. Buddhism was the prevailing religion, but Hinduism was also followed, and there were five Diva temples and about a hundred worshippers in the city. To the east of the city was a Stupa 300 feet high, built by Asoka, and wonderfully constructed of stone beautifully adorned and carved. There were many Sangharamas, of which one, four miles to the south-west of the city, had a high wall and storeyed tower made of piled-up stone, and a Stupa 200 feet high.

The kingdom of Gandhara[1] had its capital at Peshawar, and both Nagarahara and Gandhara were then subject to the king of Kapisa (near the Hindu Kush) and were governed by his deputies. The towns and villages of Gandhara were deserted, and there were but few inhabitants. The country was rich in cereals, and the people were timid and fond of literature. The 1000 Sangharamas were deserted and in ruins, and there were about 100 Hindu temples.

While speking of the kingdom of Gandhara, Houen Tsang

1 We rely on Beal's translation.

gives us an anecdote of Manohrita, a great Buddhist writer. He lived in the town of Vikramaditya "of wide renown," but Vikramaditya was a patron of Hinduism and Hindu learning, and Manohrita was disgraced in a controversy in his court, and retired in disgust, saying, "In a multitude of partisans there is no justice." Vikramaditya's successor Siladitya, however, was a patron of Buddhist learned men, and he honoured Vasubandhu, the pupil of Manohrita, and the Hindu learned men "were abashed and retired." Elsewhere, in his account of Malwa, Houen Tsang says that Siladitya reigned sixty years before his time, *i.e.*, about 580 A. D., and Vikramaditya's long reign would therefore fall before 550 A. D., which corresponds with the date we have given him.

Near the town of POLUSHA, our traveller came to a high mountain on which he found a figure of Bhima Devi (Durga) carbed out of bluish stone. Rich and poor assembled here from every part, near and distant, and saw the image after prayers and fasting. Below the mountain was a temple of Mahesvara, and the Hindu sect (Pasupata), who covered themselves with ashes, came here to offer sacrifice. From these places Houen Tsang came to Salatura, the birthplace of Panini the grammarian.

At UDYANA or the country round Cabul, where Fa Hian had found Buddhism flourishing two centuries before, Houen Tsang found the Sangharamas waste and desolate, and few monks residing in them. There were ten temples of Devas.

Crossing the Indus, the traveller ascended the river through mountain gorges to LITTLE THIBET. "The roads are craggy and steep, the mountains and the valleys are dark and gloomy. Sometimes we have to cross by ropes, sometimes by iron chains stretched (across the gorges). There are footbridges suspended in the air, and flying bridges across the chasms." From Little Thibet, Houen Tsang went to Takshasila and Sinhapura, both subject to Kashmir, and at Sinhapura he met with the sects of Jainas called Svetambaras and Digambaras. "The laws of their founder are mostly filched from the principles of the books of Buddha. . . . The figure of their sacred master (Mahavira) they stealthily class with that

of Tathagata (Buddha) ; it differs only in point of clothing ; the points of beauty are absolutely the same." There is no doubt Houen Tsang regarded the Jainas as separatists from Buddhism.

KASHMIR is said to have been 1400 miles in circuit, and its capital was two and a half miles in length and a mile broad. The soil produced cereals and abounded in fruits and flowers. The climate was cold and stern. There was much snow, but little wind. The people wore leather doublets and clothes of white linen. They were light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. They were handsome in appearance, but were given to cunning. They loved learning, and were well instructed. There were both Hindus and Buddhists among them. There were about 100 Sangharamas and 5000 monks.

Kashmir was still redolent of the fame of Kanishka, and our traveller has, of course, something to say of that powerful king. Here and elsewhere Houen Tsang states that the Nirvana of Buddha took place a hundred years before the time of Asoka. When, therefore, Houen Tsang says that "in the four hundredth year after the Nirvana of Tathagata, Kanishka king of Gandhara having succeeded to the kingdom, his kingly renown reached far, and he brought the most remote under his jurisdiction,"—we must understand him to say that Kanishka lived 300 years after Asoka, *i. e.*, about 78 A. D., and this corresponds with the date which has been given to him, and with the Saka Era.

In connection with Kanishka, our traveller gives an account of the great Council of Northern Buddhist which took place in his reign. We are told that the five hundred sages who assembled composed three commentaries, viz., the *Upadesa Sastra*, to explain the Sutra Pitaka ; the *Vinaya Vibhasa Sastra*, to explain the Vinaya Pitaka ; and the *Abhidarma Vidhasa Sastra*, to explain the Abhidharma Pitaka.

In connection also with Kanishka, our traveller informs us that tributary kings from China sent hostages to that powerful monarch, and he treated them with marked attention, and assigned for their residence the track of the country (between

the Ravi and the Sutlej) which became thus known as Chinapati. Houen Tsang visited this country, 400 miles in circuit, with a capital three miles in circuit. The Chinese introduced the pear and the peach into India, "wherefore the peach is called Chinani, and the pear is called Chinarajaputra." When the people saw Houen Tsang, they pointed with their fingers, and said one to another, "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler."

Houen Tsang has also something to say about Mihirakula, the great persecutor of Buddhists. "Some centuries ago" Mihirakula established his authority in the town of Sakala (west of the Ravi). Houen Tsang says that this terrible Mihirakula "issued and edict to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha, and leave nothing remaining." The powerful king attacked Baladitya, king of Magadha, but was taken prisoner and was allowed to go, humiliated and disgraced. He returned to Kashmir, rose in rebellion, killed the king, and placed himself on the throne. He conquered Gandhara, exterminated the royal family, overthrew Buddhism and Stupas and monasteries, and killed "three ten myriads of people" on the banks of the Indus. Some allowance must be made for exaggeration on the part of Buddhist chroniclers ;—but there can be no doubt that Mihirakula of Kashmir was one of the first and greatest persecutors and destroyers of Buddhists.

Houen Tsang was pleased with the kingdom of SATADRU (Sutlej), 400 miles in circuit, and with a capital town three and a half miles in circuit. The country was rich in cereals and fruits, in gold and silver and precious stones. The people wore rich and elegant garments of bright silk. Their manners were soft and agreeable, they were virtuous, and believed in the law of Buddha. But nevertheless the halls of the Sangharamas were deserted and wild, and there were few priests.

The country of MATHURA was a thousand miles in circuit and its chief town was four miles round. The soil was rich and fertile, and the country produced white cotton and yellow gold. The manners of the people were soft and complacent, and they esteemed virtue and honoured learning.

There were twenty Sangharamas and about 2000 priests. On the six fasting days of each of the three fast months (1st, 5th, and 9th months), the people honoured the Stupas with offerings. "They spread out their jewelled banners ; the rich parasols are crowded together as network ; the smoke of incense rises in clouds ; the flowers are scattered in every direction like rain ; the sun and the moon are concealed as by the clouds which hang over the moist valleys. The king of the country and the great ministers apply themselves to these religious duties with zeal."

The kingdom of THANESVARA was 1400 miles in circuit, and its capital was four miles round. The climate was genial, the soil rich and productive, but the people were cold and insincere, and given to luxury. The capital was near the site of the old Kurukshetra battle-field, and our traveller has his version of the story to tell. Two kings divided the five Indies between them, and it was given out that whoever fell in the battle which was to be fought would obtain deliverance. "The two countries engaged in conflict, and the dead bodies were heaped together as sticks, and from that time till now the plains are everywhere covered with their bones."

The kingdom of SRUGHNA (north Doab), bounded by the Ganges to the east and the Himalayas to the north, was 1200 miles in circuit. Our readers need scarcely be told that this was the land of the ancient Kurus, two thousand years before the time of Houen Tsang. Our traveller was struck by the Ganges with its waves "wide rolling as the sea," and supposed to "wash away countless sins." After describing MATIPURA (west Rohilkund), 1200 miles in circuit, Houen Tsang describes Mayapura, or HARIDVARA, the source of the Ganges. The town here was four miles round. "Not far from the town, standing by the Ganges river, is the great Deva temple, where very many miracles of diverse sorts are wrought. In the midst of it is a tank, of which the borders are made of stone, joined skilfully together. Through it the Ganges river is led by an artificial canal.[2] The men of the five Indies call it the gate of

2 The canal still exists.

the Ganga river (Gangadvara). This is where religious merit is found and sin effaced. There are always hundreds and thousands of people gathered together here from distant quarters to bathe and wash in its waters." Already then in the seventh century, Haridvara was one of the most famed Hindu shrines, and a great gathering place of devout pilgrims.

Our traveller goes right into the sub-Himalayas, and speaks of a kingdom BRAHMAPURA (identified with Garhwal and Kumaon), which produced gold, and where "for ages a woman has been the ruler, and so it is called the *kingdom of the women*. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing of the affairs of the state. These men manage the wars and sow the land, that is all." This no doubt has reference to an old custom among the hill tribes of the sub-Himalayan regions. Polyandry prevails among them to this day.

After passing through some other countries, Houen Tsang came to the kingdom of Kanyakubja, that ancient tract of country which boasted of a civilisation two thousand years old in the time of Houen Tsang. For it was here that the Panchalas developed their early civilisation when Magadha was still a realm of aboriginal barbarians. And although Magadha eclipsed the glory of its western neighbour under Ajatasatru and Chandragupta and Asoka the Great, yet, a few centuries after the Christian Era, Kanyakubja seems again to have attained its supremacy, and was a principal seat of the Gupta emperors. And in the time of Houen Tsang, Siladitya II., the lord of Northern India, had his court in the ancient town of Kanyakubja.

Houen Tsang found the kingdom of Kanyakubja 800 miles in circuit, and the wealthy capital four miles in length and one in breadth. The city had a moat around it, and strong and lofty towers facing each other. The flowers and woods, the lakes and ponds, bright and pure and shining like a mirror, were seen on every side. Valuable merchandise was collected, here in great quantities. The people were well off and contented, the houses were rich and well found.

Flowers and fruits abounded in every place, and the land was sown and reaped in due seasons. The climate was agreeable and soft, the manners of the people honest and sincere. They were noble and gracious in appearance. For clothing they used ornamented and bright shining fabrics. They applied themselves much to learning, and in their travels were very much given to discussion or religious subjects. The fame of their pure language was far spread. The believers in Buddha and the Hindus were equal in number. There were some hundred Sangharamas with 10,000 priests. There were 200 Deva temples with several thousand followers.

For once, Houen Tsang departs from his usual rule, and gives us some account of the history of the country he visits. He says that Prabhakara Vardhana was the former king of Kanyakubja, and on his death, his eldest son Rajyavardhana succeeded ; but he was defeated, and was killed by Sasanka (Narendra Gupta), king of Karna Suvarna (in Bengal) ; and his ministers selected his younger brother Harshavardhana, under the title of Siladitya, to the throne. Houen Tsang saw this king Siladitya, and was kindly received by him. This was Siladitya II. ; for as we have seen before, and will find again when we come to speak of Malwa, Siladitya I. reigned sixty years before the time of Houen Tsang, Siladitya II. reigned from 610 to 650 A.D.

Siladitya II. was not slow to assert his power. He assembled a body of 5000 elephants, 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot, and in six years "he had subdued the five Indies."

He was inclined towards Buddhism, forbade the slaughter of living animals, built Stupas, and erected hospitals in all the highways throughout India and stationed physicians there and provided food and drink and medicines. Once in five pears he held a great religious assembly,—the quinquennial celebration of the Buddhists,—and gave alms in profusion.

Houen Tsang was staying in the convent of Nalanda with the Raja of Kamarupa, when Siladitya sent an order to the Raja—"I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Sraman you are entertaining at the Nalanda convent." On this the traveller came with the Raja of Kamarupa, and

was introduced to Siladitya. The latter made many inquiries about the country of the traveller, and was well pleased with his replies. Siladitya being about to return to Kanyakubja, convoked a religious assembly, and, followed by hundreds of thousands of people, proceeded by the southern bank of the Ganges, while the Raja of Kamarupa proceeded by the northern bank. In ninety days they reached Kanyakubja.

Then the kings of the twenty countries, who had received instructions from Siladitya, assembled with the Sramans and Brahmans, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. It was indeed a religious imperial assemblage, and Siladitya constructed on the west of the Ganges a great Sangharama, and to the east of it a tower 100 feet high, and between them he placed a golden life-size statue of Buddha. From the 1st to the 21st of the month,—the second month of spring,—he fed and feasted the Sramans and Brahmans alike. The entire place from the Sangharama to the king's temporary place was decorated with pavilions and stations for musicians, who poured forth music. A small image of Buddha was led forth on a gorgeously caparisoned elephant, Siladitya dressed as Indra marching to the left, and the Raja of Kamarupa going to the right, each with an escort of 500 war elephants, while a hundred elephants marched in front of the statue. Siladitya scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers. The statue was washed, and Siladitya carried it on his own shoulders to the western tower, and bestowed on it silken garments and precious gems. After a feast, the men of learning were assembled, and there was a learned discussion. In the evening the king retired to his temporary palace.

In this way the statue was carried every day, and at length, on the day of separation, a great fire broke out in the tower. If Houen Tsang can be relied on, the Brahmans, envious of the king's learning towards Buddhism, had not only set fire to the tower, but had actually attempted to have him murdered. But Houen Tsang was a staunch Buddhist, and his charge against Brahmans must be accepted with caution.

The account given above shows us the kind of supremacy which the Emperor of India assumed over the kings and chiefs of the numerous states into which India was always divided. It further shows us that Buddhism had degenerated into idolatry, and gives an idea of the pomp and circumstance with which Buddhist festivals were celebrated, and which have been borrowed by later Hinduism. It also shows us that princes and kings, whether they leaned towards the Buddhist or the Hindu religion, took pleasure in honouring the learned and religious men of both sects, and that controversies between the two sects were generally of a friendly character. And lastly, it shows us with what jealous impatience the Brahmans at the close of the Buddhist Period watched the triumphs of Buddhism, a religion which they contrived finally to overcome in another century or two.

Our traveller found the kingdom of AYODHYA a thousand miles in circuit, and abounding in cereals, flowers, and fruits. The climate was temperate and agreeable, and the manners of the people virtuous and amiable. As elsewhere, the people were partly Hindus and partly Buddhists, and there were 100 Sangharamas and 3000 monks in the country.

Passing throughthe HAYAMUKHA kingdom, Houen Tsang came to PRAYAGA or Allahabad. The kingdom was a thousand miles in circuit, the produce of the land was abundant, and fruits grew in great luxuriance. The people were gentle and compliant, and fond of learning ; but Buddhism was not honoured here, and a large proportion of the people were orthodox Hindus. Houen Tsang speaks of the great tree of Allahabad, which is still shown to visitors as the Akshaya Bata or the immortal fig-tree.

"At the confluence of the two rivers, every day there are many hundreds of men who bathe themselves and die. The people of this country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown himself in the waters." There was also a high column in the middle of the river, and people went up this column to gaze on the setting sun until it had gone under the horizon.

KAUSAMBI, where Gautama had often preached, was still

a flourishing place. The kingdom was 1200 miles in circuit; rice and sugarcane grew plantifully; and the people, though said to be rough and hard in their manners, were earnest and religious.

SRAVASTI, the ancient capital of Kosala, where Gautama had preached, was deserted and in ruins. The country was 1200 miles in circuit, and the people were honest and pure in manners, and fond of religion and learning.

KAPILAVASTU, the birthplace of Gautama, was in ruins. There were some ten deserted towns in the country, which was 800 miles in circuit. The royal palace, in ruins, was three miles round, and was of brick. There was no king in the country, each town appointed its own ruler, and the manners of the people were soft and obliging.

KUSHINAGARA, where Gautama died, was similarly in ruins, and the brick foundations of the old walls were two miles in circuit.

BENARES, like Allahabad, like Hurdwar, was a tower of strength for Hinduism, even in the days of Houen Tsang. The country was 800 miles in circuit, and the capital was nearly four miles by one mile. The families were rich, and possessed in their dwellings objects of rare value. The people were soft and humane in disposition and were given to study; most of them were Hindus, a few reverenced the law of Buddha. There were in the country thirty Sangharamas with about 3000 priests, but about a hundred temples of Devas with 10,000 sectaries. The god Mahesvara was chiefly worshipped in Benares. Some cut off their hair and went naked, and covered their bodies with ashes, and by the practice of all kinds of austerities sought to escape future births.

In the town of Benares there were twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which were of sculptured stone and carved wood. Trees shaded the temples, and pure streams of water encircled them. There was a copper statue of Mahesvara 100 feet high. "Its appearance is grave and majestic, and appears as though really living."

To the north-east of the town was a Stupa, and in front of it a stone pillar, bright and shining as a mirror, its surface

glistening and smooth as ice. About two miles from the River Varana was the great Sangharama of the "Deer Park." Buddha had first proclaimed his religion in this deer park. The Sangharama was divided into eight portions, and the storeyed towers, with projecting caves and balconies, were of very superior work. In the great enclosure there was a Vihara 200 feet high, and above the roof was a golden covered figure of the mango fruit. The foundations of the Vihara were of stone, but the towers and stairs were of brick. In the middle of the Vihara was a life-size figure of Buddha, represented as turning the wheel of law. A fit representation, on the very spot where the great preacher had set the wheel of his religion rolling.

Passing through other places, Houen Tsang came to VAISALI, 1300 miles round, but the capital of the country was in ruins. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the mango and the banana were plentiful, the climate was agreeable and temperate, and the people were pure and honest, Hindus and Buddhists lived together. The Sangharamas were mostly in ruins, and the three or four which remained had but few monks in them. The Deva temples were many.

Houen Tsang speaks separately of the kingdom of the Vajjians, 800 miles in circuit ; but originally the Lichchavis and the Vajjians were the same, or rather the Lichchavis formed one of the eight Vajjian tribes. It is scarcely necessary to add that Houen Tsang speaks also of the Council of Vaisali, which according to him, took place 110 years after the death of Gautama, and the Council "bound afresh the rules that had been broken, and vindicated the holy law."

Our traveller then paid a visit to NEPAL, and was not favourably impressed with the people. Their manners, he says, were false and perfidious, and their temperament hard and fierce, with little regard to truth or honour ; and their appearance was ungainly and revolting. From Nepal, Houen Tsang returned to Vaisali, and thence crossing the Ganges to the country of Magadha, which for him was replete with holy associations. No less than two books out of his twelve books are devoted to the legends and sights and holy relics which the pilgrim found in Magadha.

The kingdom of MAGADHA was 1000 miles in circuit. The walled cities had few inhabitants, but the towns were thickly populated. The soil was rich, and produced grains in abundance. The country was low and damp, and towns were therefore built on uplands. The whole country was flooded in the rains, and communication was kept up by boats. The people were simple and honest ; they esteemed learning, and revered the religion of Buddha. There were fifty Sangharamas with 10,000 monks, and ten Deva temples with numerous followers.

The old town of PATALIPUTRA, which was still inhabited when Fa Hian visited it, was now entirely deserted, the foundation walls only being visible. The traveller has much to say about Asoka and his half-brother Mahendra, about the Buddhist writers Nagarjuna and Asvaghosha, and about the numerous Stupas and Viharas and sites connected with Buddha's life which he saw ; but we pass them by. He went to Gaya, which had a thousand families of Brahmans only for its inhabitants. Thence he went to the famous Bodhi Tree, and to the neighbouring Vihara, 160 or 170 feet high, and covered with beautiful ornamental work, "in one place figures of stringed pearls, in another figures of heavenly Rishis," and the whole being surrounded by a gilded copper Amalaka fruit. Not far from this was the grander structure of the Mahabodhi Sangharama, built by a king of Ceylon. It had six walls, with towers of observation three storeys high, and was surrounded by a wall of defence thirty or forty feet high.

"The utmost skill of the artist has been employed ; the ornamentation is in the richest colours. The statue of Buddha is cast of gold and silver, decorated with gems and precious stones. The Stupas are high and large in proportion, and beautifully ornamented."

The entire place near the Bodhi Tree was considered sacred by Buddhists in Houen Tsang's time, and as long as Buddhism prevailed in India. "Every year when the Bhikshus break up their yearly rest of the rains religious persons come here from every quarter in thousands and myriads, and during

seven days and nights they scatter flowers, burn incense, and sound music as they wander through the district and pay their worship and present their offerings." Buddhist celebrations are now a thing of the past in India ; and it is important for the historian to note, from the pages of contemporaneous witnesses, that those celebrations were in their day marked with as much pomp and circumstance, and as much joyousness and outward demonstrations, as the Hindu festivals of later times.

Houen Tsang came to RAJAGRIHA, the old capital of Magadha at the time of Ajatasatru and Bimbisara. The outer walls of the city had been destroyed, the inner walls still remained, in a ruined state, and were four miles round. The traveller visited the great cave or stone house in which the first Council was held immediately after the death of Gautama. Kasyapa was the president of the Council, and said, "Let Ananda who ever heard the words of Tathagata, collect by singing through the *Sutra Pitaka*. Let Upali who clearly understands the rules of discipline, and is well-known to all who know, collect the *Vinaya Pitaka* ; and I Kasyapa will collect the *Abhidharma Pitaka*. The three months of rain being past, the collection of the *Tripitaka* was finished.

Our traveller now came to the great NALANDA university, if we may call it by that name. The monks of this place, to the number of several thousands, were men of the highest ability, talent, and distinction. "The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion ; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripitaka* are little esteemed, and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from differnt cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and then the streams (of their wisdom) spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name (of Nalanda students) and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence."

Dr. Fergusson justly remarks that what Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the Middle Ages, Nalanda was to Central India, the depository of true learning, the centre from which it spread over to other lands. And "as in all instances connected with the strange parallelism which existed between the two religions, the Buddhists kept five centuries in advance of the Christians in the invention and use of all the ceremonies and forms common to both the religions."[3]

The great Vihara of Nalanda, where the university was located, was worthy of it. It is said that four kings, viz., Sakraditya, Buddhagupta, Tathagatagupta, and Baladitya successively laboured at this great architectural work, and when it was completed men came from a distance of 2000 miles at the great assembly that was held. Many other Viharas were built in the vicinity by succeeding kings. One great Vihara, built by Baladitya, was conspicuous among them. It was 300 feet high, and "with respect to its magnificence, its dimensions, and the statue of Buddha placed in it, it resembles the great Vihara built under the Bodhi Tree."

Leaving Magadha, Houen Tsang came to the kingdom of Hiranya Parvata, which General Cunningham identifies with MONGHYR. The kingdom was 600 miles round, the soil was largely cultivated and rich in its produce, the climate was agreeable and the people simple and honest. By the side of capital were the hot springs of Monghyr, which gave out volumes of smoke and vapour.

CHAMPA, the ancient capital of Anga or East Behar, was situated near modern Bhagalpur. The kingdom was 800 miles in circuit, the soil level and fertile and regularly cultivated, the temperature was mild and warm, and the manners of the people were simple and honest. The walls of the capital were several tens of feet high, and the foundations of the wall were raised on a lofty embankment, so that by their high escarpment, they could defy the attack of their enemies.

Passing through other places, our traveller came to

3. *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, p. 137.

PUNDRA or Pundra Vardhana, corresponding with Northern Bengal. The kingdom is described as 800 miles in circuit, and was thickly populated. The tanks and public offices and flowering woods were regularly connected at intervals. The soil was flat and loamy, and rich in all kinds of grain produce. The bread fruit, though plentiful, was highly esteemed. There were about twenty Sangharamas and 300 priests, and some hundred Deva temples with sectaries of various schools. The naked Nirgranthas were the most numerous.

To the east, and beyond a great river (the Brahmaputra) was the powerful kingdom of KAMARUPA, 2000 miles in circuit. It apparently included in those times Modern Assam, Manipur, and Kachar, Mymensing and Sylhet. The soil was rich and was cultivated, and grew cocoanuts and bread fruit in abundance. Water led from rivers or banked-up reservoirs flowed round towns. The climate was soft and temperate, the manners of the people simple and honest. The men were of small stature, of a dark yellow complexion, and spoke a language different from that of Mid-India. They were, however impetuous, with very retentive memories, and very earnest in their studies.

The people had no faith in Buddha, and adored and sacrificed to the Devas, and there were about a hundred Deva temples. Of Buddhist Sangharamas, there were none. The king was a Brahman by caste, Bhaskara Varman by name, and had the title of Kumara. Our readers will remember that Houen Tsang was introduced by this king to the great Siladitya of Kanauj.

South of the Kamarupa kingdom was SAMATATA (*literally* level country) or East Bengal. The kingdom was 600 miles in circuit; the lands were low and fruits regularly cultivated, and produced crops and fruits in plenty. The capital was four miles in circuit. The men were small in stature and black in complexion, but hardy, and fond of learning and diligent in its acquisition—a description which applies to the people of East Bengal to the present day. There were some thirty Sangharamas and about 2000 monks, and some hundred Deva temples. The naked ascetic Nirgranthas were numerous.

Next to Samatata was the kingdom of TAMRALIPTI, *i.e.* Tumlook country or South-West Bengal, including modern Midnapur. The country was 300 miles in circuit, and the capital was a seaport. The people were hardy and brave, but quick and hasty. The coast of the country was formed by a recess of the sea, and wonderful articles of value and gems were collected here, and the people were rich. There were ten Sangharamas and fifty Deva temples.

Houen Tsang then speaks of the KARNA SUVARNA kingdom, supposed to be Western Bengal, including modern Murshidabad. We have seen that it was Sasanka, the king of this country, who defeated and killed the elder brother of the great Siladitya of Kanouj. The country was 800 miles in circuit and thickly populated, and the people were fond of learning, and honest and amiable. The soil was regularly cultivated, and the climate was agreeable. There were ten Sangharamas and fifty Deva temples.

The reader will perceive from the foregoing account that Bengal proper (*i.e.* excluding Behar and Orissa) was divided in those days into five great kingdoms. Northern Bengal was *Pundra*; Assam and the North-East formed *Kamarupa*; Eastern Bengal was *Samatata*; South-West Bengal was *Tamralipti*; and Western Bengal was *Karna Suvarna*. Houen Tsang's account of Northern India ends with Bengal; we will now accompany our esteemed guide to Southern India.

The kingdom of Udra or ORISSA was 1400 miles in circuit and had its capital near modern Jaipur, five miles round. The soil was rich and fertile, and produced every variety of grain and many strange shrubs and flowers. The people, however, were uncivilised, of a yellowish black complexion, and spoke a language different from that of Central India. They were, however, fond of learning, and their country was a stronghold of Buddhism, declining elsewhere in India. It had some hundred Sangharamas with about 10,000 monks, and only fifty Deva temples.

Already Orissa was a great place of pilgrimage, though the temple of Puri had not yet been built. There was a Sangharama called Pushpagiri on a great mountain on the

south-West frontiers of the country, and it is said a stone Stupa of this Sangharama emitted a strange light. Buddhists from far and near came to this place and presented beautifully embroidered umbrellas, and placed them under a vase at the top of the cupola, and let them stand as needles in the stone. The custom of planting flags prevails in Jagannatha to the present day.

To the south-east there was a great seaport called Charitra. "Here it is that merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles."

South-west of Orissa was the kingdom of KANYODHA, on the Chilka Lake. The people were brave and impulsive, but black and dirty. They had some degree of politeness and were tolerably honest, and used the same written characters as in Mid-India, but their pronunciation was quite different. Buddhism was not much followed here ; Hinduism prevailed.

The nation was a powerful one ; their cities were strong and high, their soldiers brave and daring, and they ruled neighbouring provinces by force, and no one could resist them. As their country bordered on the sea, the people obtained many rare and valuable articles, and used cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. Elephants were used in drawing conveyances.

To the south-west of this, and beyond a vast jungle, lay the ancient kingdom of KALINGA. The kingdom was 1000 miles in circuit, and its capital five miles round. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated, but there were many jungle with wild elephants in them. The people, though impetuous and rough and uncivilised, were trustworthy and kept their word.

Such was Kalinga when Houen Tsang saw it, but our readers will remember that in the time of Megasthenes the power and the empire of Kalinga stretched along the entire seaboard from Bengal to the mouths of the Godavari. The memory of its greatness still survived, for Houen Tsang says ; "In old days the kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense popula-

tion ; their shoulders rubbed one with the other, and the axles of their chariot wheels girded together." But the palmy days of Kalinga were gone, and new kingdoms in Bengal and Orissa had arisen out of the fragments of their ancient empire. Such has always been the history of India. Kingdoms and races have risen in power and civilisation declined again by turns ; but still the vast confederation of Hindu nations had a political unity, a cohesion in religion, language, and civilisation, which made India one great country in ancient times.

To the north-west of Kalinga, through forests and crags, the way lay to Kosala, corresponding to modern BERAR. The kingdom was 1000 miles round, and the capital eight miles. The towns and villages were close together, and the population was dense. The people were tall, black, violent, impetuous, and brave, and were partly Buddhists and partly Hindus. In connection with these southern Kosalas (who must be distinguished from those of Oude), Houen Tsang speaks of the famous Buddhist writer Nagarjuna, and of the king Sadvaha, who tunnelled out a rock and fixed therein a Sangharama for his dwelling. Neither Fa Hian nor Houen Tsang personally visited this rock-cut monastery, but both speak of it, and it must have been very celebrated in their times. The king Sadvaha, we are told, "tunnelled out this rock through the middle, and built and fixed therein a Sangharama. At a distance of some 10 li (two miles), by tunnelling, he opened a covered way. Thus by standing under the rock we see the cliffs excavated throughout, and in the midst of long galleries, with caves for walking under and high towers, the storeyed building reaching to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls, with Viharas enclosed." We are told that in this Sangharama the Buddhist priests fell out among themselves, and went away to the king, and the Brahmans took advantage of this, and destroyed the Sangharama and barricaded the place.

Our traveller next came to the ancient country of the ANDHRAS, who had developed their civilisation and extended their empire in Southern India several centuries before Christ,

and who had at a later period held the supreme power in Magadha and in India. The Guptas and the Ujjayini kings had since assumed that supremacy, and the Andhras of the seventh century were a feeble power. Their kingdom was only 600 miles in circuit, and was regularly cultivated. The people were fierce and impulsive. There were twenty Sangharamas and thirty Deva temples.

South of this country was Dhanakataka or the GREAT ANDHRA country, 1200 miles in circuit, with a capital town eight miles round, which has been identified with modern Bejwada. The soil was rich and produced abundant harvests, but there was much desert in the country, and the towns were thinly populated. The people were yellowish-black, fierce and impulsive, but fond of learning. The old monasteries were mostly deserted and in ruins; only about ninety were inhabited, while a hundred Deva temples had numerous followers.

Houen Tsang speaks of two great monasteries, to the east and to the west of the city, called Purvasila and Aparasila, built by a former king in honour of Buddha. "He hollowed the valley, made a road, opened the mountain crags, constructed pavilions and long galleries; and wide chambers supported the heights and connected the caverns..... But for the last hundred years there have been no priests." Dr. Fergusson identifies the western convent with the great Amaravati tope which has been discovered and excavated since 1796 A. D. Dr. Burgess concludes, from an inscription on the stones, that the Amaravati Stupa was either already built or was being built in the second century A. D., if not earlier.

South-West from Great Andhra was the kingdom of CHOLA, 500 miles in circuit, but deserted and wild. The population was sparse, troops of brigands ravaged the open country, and the people were dissolute and cruel.

Further to the south was the kingdom of DRAVIDA, 1200 miles in circuit, with its capital, the famed town of Kanchi or Kanchipura, which has been identified with modern Conjiveram. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated, and the people were brave, truthful, honest, and fond of learning, and used the

language of Middle India. There were some hundred Sangharamas and 10,000 priests.

Further south from Dravida was the kingdon of MALAKUTA which Dr. Burnell identified with the delta of the Kaveri river. The men were dark in complexion, firm and impetuous, not fond of learning, but wholly given to commercial pursuits. South of this country were the famed Malaya mountains, the southern portions of the Malabar Ghats, which produced sandal-wood and camphor. To the east of this range was Mount Potalaka, where the Buddhist spirit or saint Avalokitesvara, worshipped by Northern Buddhists in Thibet, China, and Japan, was supposed sometimes to take his abode.

Houen Tsang did not visit CEYLON, but nevertheless gives an account of that island, with its rich vegetation, its extensive cultivation, and its teeming population. He narrates legends about Sinha or lion, about Rakshasas, and about Mahendra the brother of Asoka, who introduced Buddhism into the island; and there were 100 convents and 20,000 priests in Houen Tsang's time. He speaks of the coast as being rich in gems and precious stones, and of Mount Lanka, to the south-east of the island.

Travelling northwards from Dravida, Houen Tsang came to KONKAN, 10,000 miles in circuit, fertile, and regularly cultivated. The people were black, fierce and ardent in disposition, but esteemed learning.

North-west from Konkan, and across a great forest infested by wild beasts and robbers, was the great country of MAHARASHTRA, 1000 miles in circuit. The soil was rich and regularly cultivated, and the people were honest, but stern and vindictive. "To their benefactors they are grateful, to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their lives to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning, then, each being armed, they attack each other with spears. If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself ... The king is of the

Kshatriya caste, and his name is Pulakesi. His plans and undertakings are widespread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey hime with perfect submission. At the present time Siladitya Maharaja (of Kanouj) has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but has not yet conquered their troops." Nor was Siladitya destined to conquer Pulakesi, who defeated him in battle, and maintained the independence of the proud Maharattas ; even as a successor of Pulakesi, a thousand years later, defied Aurungzebe, the Emperor of Nothern India, and restored to the Maharattas their lost independence and greatness. And when Mogul and Rajput had alike declined in power, it was the countrymen of Pulakesi who struggled with the English for the mastery of India.

On the eastern frontier of the Maharashtra country was a great mountain, with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled up and scarped precipice. "In this there is a Sangharama constructed in dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley." This is the famous Ajanta system of caves, cut in the lofty and almost perpendicular rocks that hem in a wild secluded glen. Modern readers have been made familiar with this most wonderful work of architecture through the plates and descriptions of Fergusson and Burgess. Houen Tsang says further on that the great Vihara was about 100 feet high, and in the middle was a stone figure of Buddha 70 feet high. Above was a stone canopy of seven stages, towering upwards apparently without support.

To the west or north-west from Maharashtra was the country of Bharukachha or Broach, 500 miles in circuit. The soil was impregnated with salt, trees were scattered and scarse, and the people boiled sea water to manufacture salt, and had all their gain from the sea.

Thence Houen Tsang went to the classic land of MALAVA. "Two countries," he says, "are remarkable for the great learning of the people—Malava on the southwest, and Magadha on the north-east." Farther on Houen Tsang says "The records of the country state : Sixty years before this flourished Siladitya, a man of eminent wisdom and great learning ; his skill in literature was profound." This was Siladitya I., who reigned probably from 550 A.D.—600 A.D., and was probably the immediate successor of Vikramaditya the Great. The prince whom Houen Tsang saw in Kanouj, and who was trying to humiliate and subjugate Pulakesi and the Maharattas was Śiladitya II., wko reigned from about 610 to 650 A.D.

In Malava both the religions prevailed in Houen Tsang's time, and there were about a hundred Sangharamas and a hundred Deva temples.

Houen Tsang then visited ATALI and Kachha or CUTCH, and then came to VALABHI the seat of the great Valabhi dynasty. "The character of the soil, the climate, and the manners of the people are like those of the Kingdom of Malava. The population is dense ; the establishments rich. There are some hundred families who possess a hundred lakhs."

After visiting Saurashtra and Gurjara, Sindh and Multan the great traveller left India. But before we take leave of him, we must make a few more extracts from his diary, describing the administration of the country and the manners of the people.

"As the administration of the country is conducted on benign principles, the executive is simple. . . . The private demesnes of the crown are divided into four principal parts ; the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings ; the second is for providing subsidies for the ministers and chief officers of state ; the third is four rewarding men of distinguished ability ; and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated. In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his own worldly goods in peace, and all till the ground for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the

royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions. The river passages and the road barriers are open on payment of a small toll. When the public works require it labour is exacted, but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

"The military guard on the frontiers go out to punish the refractory. They also mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the service ; they are promised certain payments, and are publicly enrolled. The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support."

It will be seen from the above account that, according to the ancient custom of India, all the officials were paid by assignments of land. What Houen Tsang calls the king's private estates was, in fact, the entire kingdom, except such villages and lands as were given away in perpetuity to private persons, to temples or monasteries, or such other lands as were assigned to officials. All the expenses of the state, in peace and war, and those of the royal household were defrayed from the proceeds of the king's estates and of taxes.

With regard to the manners of the people, Houen Tsang bears honourable testimony to their simplicity and their rectitude. "Although," says the traveller, "they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct and are faithful to their oaths and promises."

Such has been the candid opinion of all observant travellers from the time of Megasthenes downwards, who have seen the Hindus in their homes and villages, mixed with them in their every day work, and entered into their daily transactions. Such an observer was Colonel Sleeman among the modern Englishmen who have lived in India and mixed with the people.

Villagers, says the Colonel, adhere habitually to the truth in their own Panchayets ; and "I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty, and life has depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it."

CHAPTER III

THE VALABHIS AND THE RAJPUTS

GUJRAT was subject to the Gupta emperors during the palmy days of that dynasty ; and when, in the latter half of the fifth century, the Valabhis of Gujrat rose to independence and power, they naturally adopted the Gupta Era, reckoned from 319 A. D. When the power of the Guptas, then emperors of India, was slowly decaying, an enterprising military commander, Senapati Bhatarka by name, asserted his independence in Gujrat, and was the founder of the Valabhi dynasty of Saurashtra.

The genealogy and history of the Valabhi family are elucidated by numerous inscriptions which have been discovered. Among the earliest of them are two copperplates which were found over fifty years ago in making excavations in Gujrat[1] They were published by W. H. Wathen in 1835, and are of considerable importance.

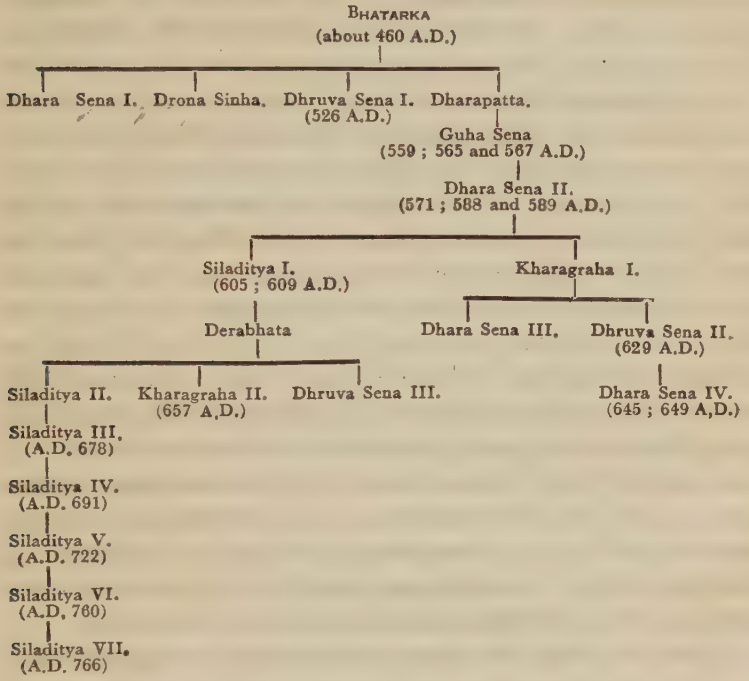
Senapati Bhatarka, the originator of the family, is stated to have "earned glory in hundreds of battles fought in the countries of his foes," and must have been, like all beginners of dynasties a great warrior and able administrator. He had four sons, Dharasena, Dronasinha, Dhruvasena and Dharapatta. The first of these brothers is styled Senapti, and had apparently not yet assumed the title of king ; but his younger brother "received his inauguration to the throne from the great sovereign himself" (probably of Kanouj), and is styled Sri Maharaja Dronasinha. His two brothers are similarly styled Sri Maharaja Dhruvasena and Sri Maharaja Dharapatta.

Dharapatta's son was Guha Sena, "the destroyer of multitudes of foes," and his son, Dhara Sena II. made the gift.

In the second plate published by Wathen, the successors of Dhara Sena II, are called Siladitya Khara Graha, Dhara Sena III., Dhruva Sena II., Dhara Sena IV., Siladitya II. (two or three names illegible here), Khara Graha II, Siladitya III., and Siladitya IV.

1 See Prinsep's Essays, ed. Thomas, vol. 1, p. 252, et seq.

An inscription[2] discovered by Hariballabh in 1878 brings down the list of kings to Siladitya VII., who reigned at the close of the eighth century. We have thus in a single inscription a complete list of the kings of this dynasty for three centuries, from Bhatarka, who commenced the line in the latter half of the fifth century, to Siladitya VII., who reigned in the latter half of the eighth century. The genealogical table and dates given below will show the names at a glance :—



We have only to add that when Houen Tsang visited Valabhi, he found the people a rich, powerful, and flourishing nation, holding Saurashtra under subjection. Rich and valuable products of distant regions were stored within their capital in great quantities, and showed the brisk maritime trade which the Valabhis carried on. The decline of this great people is involved in mystery, but there can be little doubt

2. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. iii. ; Texts, &c., p. 171.

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that the Rajputs arose in power and glory in Western India as the Valabhis declined.

For many reasons the Rajputs may be considered the successors of the Valabhis to supreme power in Western India, as the Valabhis themselves were the successors of the Guptas. And the haughtiest of the Rajputs, viz., the Ranas of Mewar, traced a fictitious descent from the Valabhis. While the Rajputs immediately succeeded the Valabhis in Gujrat, and Puttun arose as Valabhipur declined in the latter half of the eighth century, there was no such continuity in the history of Northern India. There, the great dynasties of Ujjayini and Kanouj disappear from view, as we have seen before, about the middle of the eighth century. From that time to the tenth century, the history of Northern India is an absolute blank. We have accounts of the Chalukyans in the south, of the kings of Kashmir in the extreme North-West, of those of Bengal and Orissa in the extreme East ; but the centre of Hindu civilisation and culture, the Madhyadesa stretching from Kanouj to Magadha, has no history ! No dynasty rose to sufficient distinction to leave a record, no event transpired which lived in the traditions or writings of the people, no great invasions or great revolutions took place of which any trace can be found. These two centuries have left us no literature to speak of, as we have seen in the last chapter, and no great works of art or industry in the shape of buildings in Northern India. A mysterious cloud hangs over these dark centuries, which historians have not yet been able to lift.

When the dark and impenetrable cloud is removed at the close of the tenth century, we find new actors and new scenes. Puranic Hinduism is supreme in India, and its supremacy is contemporaneous with the political supremacy of a new and brave nation, the Rajputs. The Rajputs have issued out of their kingdoms in Gujrat and Southern India, and are the masters in Delhi, in Kanouj, in Ajmir, in the most distant parts of India ! Everywhere they favoured Puranic Hinduism. And the Brahmans rewarded them for their toil, and recognised the new race as the Kshatriyas of modern times.

From these results, then, we are enabled to know the history

of the two dark centuries, from the eighth to the tenth. That unhappy period was a period of internecine wars, and of the crumbling down of old institutions and dynasties. Ancient houses fell, from senile decay or through violence ; a new and sturdy race stepped forward in their places. It was a repetition of a scene which had taken place at least once before in the history of India. Thus, in the fourth century before Christ the vigorous and young Magadhas, considered in the Epic Age as outside the pale of Aryans, rose in power, extended their conquests, and established their supremacy over the ancient kingdoms of the Kasis, the Kosalas, the Kurus, and the Panchalas. And when Magasthenes came to India, he found the Prachyas or Magadhas supreme in Northern India. In the same way, during the obscure eighth to tenth centuries A. D., the Rajput races, scarcely considered within the pale of Aryan Hindus before, stepped forward in the midst of the struggle of races and nations, and, by their superior might and bravery, made room for themselves on the empty thrones of Kanouj, Delhi, Lahore, and other places. As in the fourth century B. C., so in the tenth century A. D., it was not a question of dynastic supremacy, but of racial supremacy, —a new, brave, and vigorous race stepping forward in each case to the places vacated by ancient and cultured but effete races. And as if to make the parallel complete, each political revolution was accompanied by a religious revolution. The spread of the Magadha power over the ancient and cultured races of India facilitated the spread of a new religion like Buddhism against the ancient and learned creed of the land. And the rise of the Rajputs finally secured the triumph of Puranic Hinduism in India.

We have, in the Introduction to this work, seen that the History of Europe from the fifth to the tenth century A.D., affords a still more remarkable parallel to the history of India from the eighth to the tenth century. Both in Europe and in India, ancient rule and ancient institutions were destroyed; new races asserted their rule and their authority over the land ; and these new races, again,—the German masters of Europe and the Rajput masters of India,—had to face the rising

power of the Musalmans. Europe maintained her independence ; India struggled but fell.

We have seen that the Rajputs were scarcely reckoned among Aryan Hindus before the eighth century. We find no mention of their name in the literature of the country or in the records of foreign travellers, and no traces of their previous culture. Conjectures have been made as to their origin. Dr. H. H. Wilson has held that they were the descendants of the Sakas and other invaders who swarmed into India for centuries before the time of Vikramaditya, who were defeated by that king, but nevertheless spread themselves and settled down in India, specially in Western and Southern India. Dark hints are thrown out in the Puranas to indicate that the Rajputs were new comers. Thus the primitive Parihara, Pramara, Chalukya, and Chohan races are fabled to have sprung from four warriors conjured into existence by the sage Vasishtha, from a sacrificial fire he had kindled on Mount Abu. And the thirty-six Rajput tribes are said to have been derived from these four primitive races.

The Chalukyas established themselves in Gujrat, founded the new capital Pattan, and indeed usurped the supreme power so long held by the Valabhis. The Parihara branch settled down in Marwar, the Pramaras established themselves in Western Malwa, and the Chohans came more to the east towards Delhi and Ajmir. There were other Rajput tribes for whom other descents have been imagined. Thus the Ghelote Ranas of Mewar claimed descent from Rama, through the Valabhi princes of Gujrat. There is a tradition, on the other hand, connecting the Rathores of Marwar with Hiranya Kasipu of Indian mythology.

Whatever the origin of the Rajputs may be, there is no doubt that they were new comers within the pale of Hindu civilisation and religion. Like all new converts, they were fired with an excessive zeal to revive the religion they embraced. Brahmans worked on the zeal of this new race of Kshatriyas, and the Chohan and the Rathore vindicated their claims to be regarded as Kshatriyas by establishing the supremacy of Brahmans. By the close of the tenth century, Puranic Hinduism

was everywhere re-established and triumphant, and Kanouj and Mathura, and a hundred other towns, were beautified with those noble buildings and temples which struck the Sultan of Ghazni, early in the next century.

CHAPTER IV

BENGAL AND ORISSA

In the second or Epic Period, the kingdoms of Magadha and Anga, *i.e.*, South and East Behar, were scarcely yet within the Aryan pale. It was in the Rationalistic Period, after 1000 B. C., that Magadha became completely Aryanised, and rose in power and civilisation, until it eclipsed and even subdued the more ancient Aryan kingdoms in the Gangetic valley. And it was then, probably in the fifth century B. C., that Bengal proper and Orissa received from the flourishing kingdom of Magadha the first rays of Aryan civilisation.

In the fourth century B. C., when the Greeks visited India, they found powerful kingdoms founded in Bengal and Orissa, which they called by the general name of Kalinga. In the third century B. C., Kalinga was conquered by Asoka the Great, as we learn from his inscriptions, and this conquest probably facilitated the spread of Buddhism in these provinses and also brought Bengal and Orissa in closer connection with the civilisation of Northern India.

Slowly and obscurely Bengal rose in importance and in civilisation, and by the close of the Buddhist Period, Bengal was a recognised power in India. Sasanka (Narendra Gupta) king of Karna Suvarna, near Gaur, defeated and killed in war the elder brother of the great Siladitya about the commencement of the seventh century ; and when about 640 A. D. Houen Tsang came to Bengal, he found civilised and powerful kingdoms in Pundra or Northern Bengal, Samatata or Eastern Bengal, Kamarupa or Assam, and Tamralipti or Southern Bengal, as well as in Karna Suvarna or Western Bengal. These kingdoms correspond roughly with the present Rajshahi, Dacca, Assam, Burdwan, and Presidency divisions. Houen Tsang's account of these kingdoms has been given elsewhere, and need not be repeated here.

After this, we hear of Bengal again in the ninth century.

A number of copperplate grants which have been discovered in recent times show that races of kings known as the Pala kings and Sena kings ruled in Bengal for about three centuries before the Mahommedan conquest. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has carefully condensed and arranged the information on this subject in his essay on the Pala and Sena Dynasties now published in the second volume of his *Indo-Aryans*, and we take the following lists from that essay. It will be seen Dr. Mitra allows generally an average of twenty years for each reign :—

PALA KINGS.

In Western and Northern Bengal.

		A.D.
I.	Gopala	855
II.	Dharmapala	875
III.	Devapala	895
IV.	Vigrahapala	915
V.	Narayanapala	935
VI.	Rajapala	955
VII.	——Pala	975
VIII.	Vigrahapala II.	995
IX.	Mahipala	1015
X.	Nayapala	1040
	(Expelled from Bengal by the Senas.)	

SENA KINGS

In Eastern and Littoral Bengal.

I.	Vira Sena	986
II.	Samanta Sena	1006
III.	Hemanta Sena	1026
	In the whole of Bengal.	
IV.	Vijaya *alias* Sukha Sena	1046
V.	Ballala Sena	1066
VI.	Lakshmana Sena	1106
VII.	Madhava Sena	1136
VIII.	Kesava Sena	1138
IX.	Lakshmaneya *alias* Asoka Sena	1142
	Mahommedan conquests about	1204

Very little is known of the Pala kings except that they were Buddhists, but were tolerant towards Hindus, employed Hindu officials, and gave lands for religious purposes to the Hindus. They never possessed East Bengal, but ruled, as Dr. Mitra says, "on the west of the Bhagirathi certainly as far as the boundary of Behar, and probably further, taking the whole of the ancient kingdom of Magadha. On the north it included Tirhut, Malda, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bagura, which constituted the great ancient kingdom of Pundra Vardhana. The bulk of the delta seems not to have belonged to them."

Of the first king, Gopala, a short inscription has been found in Nalanda proving that the great king had conquered Magadha ; and this fact is confirmed by Taranath, who tells

us that Gopala "began to reign in Bengal, and afterwards conquered Magadha." According to General Cunningham,[1] he began his reign in 815 A.D., which is forty years earlier than the date assigned by Dr. Mitra. Gopala's successor, Dharmapala, extended his dominions, and married Kanna Devi, daughter of Prabala, "Raja of many countries." Dharmapala's successor, Devapala, was a great conqueror; the inscriptions assign to him the conquest of Kamarupa and Orissa, and Taranath ascribes to him the subjugation of the whole of Northern India from the Himalaya to the Vindhya mountains. All the warlike expeditions of Devapala are said in one inscription to have been conducted by his brother Jayapala, whose son, Vigrahapala, eventually succeeded to the throne, after one or two short reigns omitted in Dr. Mitra's list. We learn from the Bhagalpur copper inscription that Vigrahapala married the Haihaya princess Lajja, and the Haihayas are believed to have been Rajputs. Vigrahapala seems in the end to have abdicated saying to his son, "Let penance be mine, and the kingdom thine." So Narayanapala his son succeeded. And his successor, Rajyapala, was ruling all Northen India, from Bengal to Kanouj, when Mahmud of Ghazni appeared before Kanouj in 1017A.D. Dr. Mitra's date for Rajyapala is evidently wrong.

Of the successor of Rajyapala little is known until we come to Mahipala, who, according to Taranath, reigned fifty-two years; and General Cunningham therefore dates his reign from 1028 to 1080 A.D. The king of Orissa is said to have been tributary to this powerful king. It was in the time of the immediate successors of this king, and in the eleventh century, that the Sena Rajas of Eastern Bengal rose in power, and wrested from them the eastern provinces, leaving them Magadha, where the Pala kings continued to reign till the dynasty came to a sudden end shortly after 1178, the date of the last inscription of this line of kings.[2]

Of the Sena Rajas, Dr. Rajendra Lala believes the first

1 Archæological Survey of India, vol. xv. p. 148.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. xv. p. 156.

Vira Sena, to be the same as the renowned Adi Sura, who is supposed to have brought five Brahmans and five Kayasthas from Kanouj, because Bengal was poor in learned men. General Cunningham, however, considers that Vira Sena was a remote ancestor of the later Sena king, and reigned in the seventh century A.D. This is not unlikely, if we consider that the descendants of the ten Brahmans and Kayasthas, said to have been brought by Adi Sura, had so multiplied by the eleventh century as to require a classification by Ballala. To the reigns of kings Samanta Sena to Lakshmaneya, General Cunningham assigns dates from 957 to 1198 A.D.

Of Samanta and his son Hemanta little is known. The next king was Vijaya, and his son was the celebrated Ballala Sena.

It is said that the Brahmanas and Kayasthas imported from Kanouj had multiplied by this time, and Ballala forbade all intermarriage between the original Brahmanas and Kayasthas of the country with the descendants of the new comers from Kanouj. Complicated rules were also framed by him and his successors to elevate the status of those who succeeded in securing the alliances of Kulins. It is probable, however, that Ballala only gave his sanction to distinctions and rules which had already grown up among the different classes of Brahmanas and Kayasthas.

Ballala was succeeded by Lakshmana Sena. His prime minister was Halayudha, the author of *Brahmana Sarvasva*. Mahommedan historians state that this king greatly embellished the city of Gaur.

He was followed successively by his two sons Madhava Sena and Kesava Sena. Then came Lakshmaneya, in whose reign Bengal was conquered by Bakhtiyar Khilji about 1204 A.D., or 1198 A.D. by other accounts.

The chief seat of the Sena family seems to have been Vikramapura near Dacca, where the supposed ruins of Ballala's palace are still shown to travellers. The Senas were Hindus, as the Palas were Buddhists, and the gradual substitution of the one dynasty by another really marks the decay of the Buddhist religion and the universal acceptance of modern

Hinduism in Bengal. The cause of the rise and fall of dynasties often lies deeper than appears on the surface, and in India the rise of new dynasties during the eighth and ninth and tenth centuries is intimately connected with the rise of Puranic Hinduism over the ashes of Buddhism.

The race or caste to which the Pala and the Sena kings of Bengal belonged has formed the subject of much animated controversy in recent years, in which doughty scholars like Dr. Rajendra Lala and General Cunningham have taken part. It is not necessary that we should enter into the discussion ; we will only state the conclusions which appear to us to be the most plausible.

The Palas ruled in Bengal when Jai Pala and Ananga Pala were ruling in Western India, and trying to oppose the march of Sabaktagin and Sultan Mahmud. There is nothing very improbable in the supposition that the Bengal Palas were an offshoot from the same Rajput race which founded new kingdoms all over India in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. They were Kshatriyas, of course, but only in the sense that they were a race of kings and warriors. So long as the Hindus were a living nation, the proud title of Kshatriya was frequently assumed by bold dynasties rising from the ranks, and Rajput kings and even the Mahratta chief Sivaji assumed the title of Kshatriya.

The Senas of Bengal in the present day are Vaidyas, *i.e.*, they belong to the medical caste ; and they assume therefore that the early Sena kings of Bengal also belonged to the same caste. But before this assumption is made, it ought to be shown that the Vaidyas as a separate caste existed previously in Western or Southern India, from which the Bengal Sena dynasty must have come. We have shown elsewhere, and we will show again, that neither Kayasthas nor Vaidyas existed as separate castes in the time of Manu and for centuries afterwards. Professional clerks and medical men still belonged to the great body of the Aryan people forming the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes ; and they have differentiated into separate caste only in modern times. How can we suppose, then, that the Sena kings were Vaidyas by caste ?

Vaidyas as a separate caste do dot exist to this day (so we are informed), in any province outside Bengal. What, then, are we to understand by the statement that the Sena kings who came to Bengal from Western or Southern India were Vaidyas by caste?

The real fact is that the Sena kings of Bengal were scions of some royal house of Western or Southern India,—probably the Valabhi Sena house of Saurashtra or some Sena house of Southern India. In any case, there can be no doubt that the founder of the Bengal dynasty came of some martial family—Valabhi, or Rajput, or Vaisya—who rightly assumed the title of Kshatriya, because he founded a kingdom.

The Sena Vaidyas of East Bengal may have good and sufficient reasons for claiming kinship with Ballala Sena and his successors. But instead of declaring that the ancient kings were Vaidyas, and came to Bengal with pestle and mortar, ointments and drugs, it would be historically more intelligible to urge that the descendants of the ancient Vaisya or Kshatriya kings of the Sena dynasty have now become merged in the modern Vaidya or medical caste of Bengal.

It is of far greater importance to us to ascertain the race to which the people of Bengal belong. The proportion of Aryan population in Bengal has always been, and is to this day, very small. The Brahmanas are of Aryan blood, except of course the Varna Brahmanas; who belong to the castes whose religious rites they perform. The Kayasthas are also of Aryan blood, except the menial and cultivating classes (Bhandaris, &c.), who call themselves Kayasthas, but are generally known as Sudras. The Vaidyas are a small compact body, and are probably of pure Aryan blood, being descendants of the ancient Vaisyas. Of the trading castes, the Suvarna Vaniks and some other castes are more or less of Aryan descent. Potters, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and other artisans are partly of Aryan blood, descended from the ancient Vaisya stock, and differentiated into different modern castes by following different professions. At the same time, there is in these Aryan castes a large admixture of aborigines,—those who followed the trades which the conquer-

ing Aryans taught them, and thus finally came to belong to the same trade-castes with their conquerors. Beyond this pale, the large agricultural, pastoral, hunting, and fishing castes, the Kaivartas, the Chandalas, and the millions of agricultural Mahomedans, are undoubtedly descended from the non-Aryan aborigines of the soil. Beyond them, again, the Bagdis, Bauris, Doms, Haris, &c., are aborigines who have not yet been completely Hinduised.

We now turn to the history of Orissa. Orissa, like Bengal, was probably first colonised by the Aryans in the Rationalistic Period, but, unlike Bengal, Orissa has memorials of the early Aryan settlers in its rock-cut caves and palaces. Buddhist missionaries came to this land to spread that religion and spend their lives in calm and austere contemplation in caves ; and some of the caves must be referred to a period before the time of Asoka. Half-way between Cuttack and Puri, two sandstone hills rise abruptly from the jungles, and the peaks and sides of these hills, the Khandagiri and the Udayagiri, are honeycombed with cells, caves, and edifices. The oldest of them consist of single cells, scarcely fit for the habitation of men, except of such who had determined to pass their lives in austere seclusion. In course of time larger caves were excavated and even ornamented with sculpture, and the last works were commodious residences, fit for assemblies of monks and even for kings and queens. There can be little doubt that Asoka's conquest of Kalinga fostered these fine Buddhist excavations ; and we have seen before that some of Asoka's inscriptions have been found in Orissa.

We know little of the history of Orissa during the Buddhist Period. The history of that province was first explored by Stirling, who published the results of his labours in Vol. XV. of the "Asiatic Researches." The subject has since received the attention of Sir William Hunter and of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra.

It would seem that the last of the Buddhist kings were called Yavanas ; but it is not known if they were so called because descended from the Bactrian Greeks, or simply because they were Buddhists. Yayati Kesari expelled the

Yavanas in 474 A.D., and began the Kesari or "Lion dynasty," and introduced Hinduism in its Puranic form. Ths Kesari dynasty reigned for nearly seven centuries, and the authentic history of Orissa begins with the commencement of this dynasty. The following chronological list, taken from Dr. Hunter's work, may interest our readers :—

		A.D.			A.D.
Yayati	Kesari	476	Madhusudana	Kesari	904
Surya	,,	526	Dharma	,,	920
Ananta	,,	583	Jana	,,	930
Alabu	,,	623	Nripa	,,	941
Kanaka	,,	677	Makara	,,	953
Vira	,,	693	Tripura	,,	961
Padma	,,	701	Madhava	,,	971
Vriddha	,,	706	Govinda	,,	989
Bata	,,	715	Nritya	,,	999
Gaja	,,	726	Narasinha	,,	1013
Vasanta	,,	738	Kurma	,,	1024
Gandharva	,,	740	Matsya	,,	1034
Janamejaya	,,	754	Varaha	,,	1050
Bharata	,,	763	Vamana	,,	1065
Kali	,,	778	Parasu	,,	1078
Kamala	,,	792	Chandra	,,	1080
Kundala	,,	811	Sujana	,,	1092
Chandra	,,	829	Salini	,,	1099
Vira Chandra	,,	846	Puranjana	,,	1104
Amrita	,,	865	Vishnu	,,	1107
Vijaya	,,	875	Indra	,,	1119
Chandrapala	,,	890	Suvarna	,,	1123 to 1132

[Extinction of the Kesari line.]

The Kesari kings had their capital at Bhuvanesvara which they beautified with numerous temples and edifices, the remains of which are among the noblest specimens of Hindu architecture in India. The whole place is crowded with such buildings, and must have been, during the ascendancy of the Kesari line, the most magnificent city in India for temples and beautiful edifices.

The first king, Yayati Kesari, is said to have founded this capital, the name of which implies that the Siva or Bhuvanesvara was then the most popular deity of the Orissa Hindus. Jajpur was another capital of Yayati, and the colossal statues there found also attest to the power and greatness of the

dynasty, and to their devotion to Siva and his consort. Nripa Kesari, who reigned from 941 to 953 A.D., is said to have founded the city of Cuttack.

A new dynasty, known as the Ganga Vansa, or the "Gangetic dynasty," succeeded the Lion dynasty.

The origin of this dynasty is still involved in obscurity, but the name of the family as well as traditions connect them with Bengal; and it is probable they came from near the ancient Tamralipta or Tumlook. The rise of this dynasty makes a religious revolution; and as the Lion dynasty had supplanted Buddhism by Siva worship, so the Gangetic house supplanted Siva worship by Vishnu worship. But nevertheless none of these creeds was altogether extinct in Orissa; on the contrary, the three religions ran in parallel streams, contracting or expanding in influence and power with the lapse of ages. Vishnu worship, in its modern form, is the prevailing religion in the present day.

We append the following list of the Gangetic kings from Dr. Hunter's work :—

	A.D.		A.D.
Chor Ganga	1132	Sankha Vasudeva	1337
Gangesvara	1152	Bali ,,	1361
Ekjatakam Deva	1166	Vira ,,	1382
Madana Mahadeva	1171	Kali ,,	1401
Ananga Bhima Deva	1175	Neungatanta ,,	1414
Rajarajesvara Deva	1202	Netra ,,	1429
Languhya Naraswha	1237	Kapilendra Deva	1452
Kesari ,,	1282	Purushottama Deva	1479
Pratapa ,,	1307	Pratapa Rudra Deva	1504
Ghati Kantha ,,	1327	Kalinga Deva	1532
Kapila ,,	1329	Kalharuga Deva	1533 to 1534
Sankha Bhasura	1330		

[Extinction of the Gangetic line]

Some of the earlier kings of this line were among the most powerful monarchs of their time, Gangesvara (1152 to 1166) ruled from the Ganges to the Godavari, and Ananga Bhima Deva (1175 to 1202), also a most powerful king, is said to have built the present temple of Jagannatha. Later

on, Purushottama Deva (1479 to 1504) is said to have defeated the king of Kanchi in Southern India, and married his daughter ; and his successor, Pratapa Rudra Deva, was on the throne when the great Vaishnava reformer Chaitanya visited Orissa.

Govinda Vidyadhara murdered the last king of the Gangetic house and ascended the throne ; but conflict with the Mahommedans began in his reign, 1634 to 1541 A.D. Four kings then successively ascended the throne, Chakra Pratapa (1541 to 1549), Narasingha Jana (1549 to 1550), Raghurama Chotra (1550 to 1551), and Mukunda Deva (1551 to 1559 A.D.). It was in this last reign that the famous Mahommedan general Kalapahar invaded the province, defeated and slew the king in a battle near Jaipur, plundered the city of Jagannatha, and overthrew the Hindu monarchy.

Thus, after maintaining its independence for nearly four centuries after the conquest of Northern India and Bengal, Orissa was conquered by the Mahommedans about 1560 AD.

CHAPTER V

KASHMIR AND SOUTHERN INDIA

WE have in a previous chapter brought down the history of Kashmir to the time of Matrigupta, the friend and contemporary of Vikramaditya the Great. We note down the names of Matrigupta's successors to the middle of the twelfth century when Kahlana's history comes to a close.[1] There is a continuation of Kahlana's history by other writers.

We have only to premise that from the time of Durlabha Vardhana (the seventh king in succession from Matrigupta), Kahlana's dates are perfectly reliable. Durlabha Vardhana began his reign in 598 A.D. according to Kahlana. Six kings ruled between Matrigupta and Durlabha Vardhana, and if we give an average of fifteen years to each of these six reigns. Matrigupta's reign falls at the commencement of the sixth century A.D.

But Kahlana was misled by the Saka Era, and believed Vikramaditya and Matrigupta to have reigned about the beginning of that era. He had therefore to spin out the six reigns (between Matrigupta and Durlabha Vardhana) into five centuries. And this he does by allotting 300 years to one reign, viz,, that of Ranaditya ! Hence Kahlana's dates previous to Durlabha Vardhana's time are worthless.

	A.D.
Matrigupta abdicated	50
Pravara Sena, Yudhisthira, Narendraditya, Ranaditya, Vikramaditya, Raladitya	550 to 598
Durlabha Vardhana (Kahlana's date)	598

	A.D.
Durlabhaka ,, ,,	634
Chandrapira ,, ,,	684
Tarapira ,, ,,	694
Lalitaditya ,, ,,	697
Kuvalayapira ,, ,,	733
Vajraditya ,, ,,	734
Prithivyapira ,, ,,	741
Sangramapira ,, ,,	745
Jayapira ,, ,,	745
Lalitapira ,, ,,	776

1. We rely as before on Mr. Jogesh Chander Dutt's translation.

	A.D.
Sangramapire ,, ,,	788
Chippata Jaya-pira ,, ,,	795
Ajitapira ,, ,,	813
Anangapira ,, ,,	849
Utpalapira ,, ,,	852
Avantivarman ,, ,,	855
Sankaravarman ,, ,,	883
Gopalavarman ,, ,,	902
Sankata ,, ,,	904
Sugandha ,, ,,	904
Partha ,, ,,	906
Nirjitavarman ,, ,,	921
Chakravarman (Kahlana's date)	922
Suravarman ,, ,,	933
Partha (2nd time) ,, ,,	934
Chakravarman (2nd & 3rd time) ,, ,,	935
Unmattavanti ,, ,,	937
Suravarma ,, ,,	939
Yasaskara ,, ,,	939
Varnata ,, ,,	948
Sangragma ,, ,,	948
Parvagupta ,, ,,	948
Kshemagupta ,, ,,	955
Abhimanyu ,, ,,	958
Nandigupta ,, ,,	972
Tribhuvanagupta ,, ,,	973
Bhimagupta ,, ,,	975
Didda ,, ,,	980
Sangrama ,, ,,	1003
Hariraja ,, ,,	1028
Ananta Deva ,, ,,	1028
Ranaditya ,, ,,	1063
Utkarsa ,, ,,	1089
Harsha ,, ,,	1089
Uchchala ,, ,,	1101
Rodda ,, ,,	1111
Salhna ,, ,,	1111
Sussala ,, ,,	1112
Bhikshachara ,, ,,	1120
Sassala ,, ,,	1121
Senba Deva ,, ,,	1127
Kahlana's account closes at the 22nd year of this reign.	

Thanks to Kahlana and his translator, the English reader is furnished with some interesting facts of the history of Kashmir. The episode of Matrigupta is one of the most interesting on record. He is said to have been a courtier and a poet of the court of Vikramaditya the Great, and that great emperor bestowed on him the kingdom of Kashmir as a reward for his merit. We do not know how the poet administered a kingdom ; but when he heard of his patron's death he abdicated in grief, and retired as a religious mendicant to Benares.

Pravara Sena, nephew of the previous king, succeeded Matrigupta ; and the poet, before his departure, extolled in verses a wonderful bridge which the new king made on the Vitasta. Pravara Sena became a powerful king, extended his conquest as far as Saurashtra, and it is said defeated Siladitya I., the successor of Vikramaditya, and brought away from Ujjayini the throne which Vikramaditya had probably taken away as a trophy. Here we have a confirmation of the state-

ment of Houen Tsang, that Siladitya I, succeeded Vikramaditya the Great.

The next great king was the renowned Lalitaditya, whose long reign of thirty-six years began in 697 A.D. He extended his conquests far and wide, and subdued Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj ; and Bhavabhuti, the most renowned dramatist of India after Kalidasa, followed the conqueror from Kanouj. Lalitaditya then proceeded with his conquests further east and south, and is said to have subdued Kalinga, Gaur, and even Karnata, and then "crossed the sea, passing from one island to another." We do not know how much of this is fact, and how much is due to the poet's imagination. He returned towards his country, crossing the Vindhya, and coming through Avanti. He built numerous edifices, and is said to have lost his life in attempting to cross the Himalayas to conquer the unknown north.

Lalitaditya was the contemporary, not only of Bhavabhuti the poet, but of Muhammad Kasim, the Mahommedan conqueror of Sind. We are told that Lalitaditya defeated the Turashkas, and also "the wily king of Sindhu." This may have been the successor of Kasim, who held Sind down to 750 A.D.

Bajraditya, who reigned from 734 to 741 A.D., "had many females in his zenana, sold many people to the Mlechchhas, and introduced their evil habits,"

The powerful Jayapira reigned thirty-one years, from 745 to 776 A.D., and employed learned men to collect together Patanjali's Great Commentary on Panini. He is also said to have gone to Paundravardhana, the possession of Jayanta, king of Gaur, and to have married the princess Kalyanadevi, daughter of Jayanta. A restless conqueror, he penetrated into Napal, and was beaten and imprisoned, but escaped. Jayapira trusted his Kayastha ministers and financiers, and the Brahman historian narrates that a Brahman's curse killed him !

Avantivarman commenced a new dynasty in 855 A. D. and reigned till 883 A.D. Great floods caused much injury, in his reign, and we are told that Suyyu, a benefactor of his country,

cleared a passage for the water of the Vitasta, and also opened out canals to take out the superfluous water. Sindhu flowed to the left, Vitasta to the right, and were made to meet at Vainyasvamin. After thus diverting the course of the rivers, he raised a great embankment as a protection against the waters of the Mahapadma lake, and joined the lake also with the Vitasta.

Avantivarman was the first *Vaishnava* king that we read of. His successor, Sankaravarman, was a great conqueror, and extended his conquests to Gujrat, but disgusted the Brahmans of his country by trusting to his Kayastha financiers. Surendravatí and two other queens perished with him *on the pyre*, 902 A.D.

Sugandha, a dissolute queen, reigned for two years, 904 to 906 A.D., by the help of the Tantris and the Ekangas, probably two religious sects. But she was soon deposed, and the Tantris set up one king after another, according as they were bribed and courted. We now read of a succession of worthless and dissolute kings, of whom Kshemagupta (950 to 958 A.D.), was about the most shameless and dissolute. His son Abhimanyu, a blameless prince, reigned for fourteen years, after which his mother Didda (the widow of Kshemagupta), commenced her long reign of twenty-three years (980 to 1003 A.D.,) after successively murdering three infant kings. When these scenes were disgracing the court of Kashmir, great enemy was nigh. Mahmud of Ghuzni had commenced his invasions before Didda's reign had come to a close.

Her successor, Kshemapati, sent succour to the Shah king against the Turashka invader Hammira (Mahmud ?), but in vain. The terrible invader defeated the army, consisting of Kashmirians and Rajputs, and annexed the "Shahiraya." Another expedition was sent out, but the army fled back to their country before the conquering Moslems.

Ananta, after a long reign of thirty-five years, abdicated in favour of his son Ranaditya, a prince of dissolute habits. He, too, had a long reign of twenty-six years, and died in 1089 A.D. His son Utkarsha succeeded him, but was soon deposed by his abler brother, Harsha. There was a great deal

of civil war in this reign, which ended in the defeat of the king. He retired as a hermit, but was traced out and killed.

The secluded position of Kashmir enabled the kingdom to maintain its independence for some centuries after the reign of Harsha, but there is little in its annals to interest the reader. The country was at last invaded and conquered by a Mahommedan invader and was ultimately united to the empire of Akbar.

We now turn to the history of Southern India.

We have seen that Southern India was Hinduised by the Aryans in the Rationalistic Age, after the tenth century B.C.; that the great Andhra kingdom was founded in the Deccan in that Age, and that some of the Sutra schools of learning and laws were founded there. After the Christian Era, the Andhras extended their power over Magadha and Northern India, and for centuries held the supreme power in India. When the Andhras and the Guptas fell, the Valabhis became the masters of Gujrat and Western India, and they were succeeded by the Rajputs.

In the meantime the CHALUKYAS, a Rajput tribe, had become a great power in the Deccan when the Valabhis rose in Gujrat, and held sway over the whole of the country between the Nurbuda and the Krishna rivers. The rule of the Chalukyas in the Deccan commenced about the close of the fifth century A.D., and continued to the close of the twelfth century, *i. e.*, to the time when Northern India was conquered by the Mahommedans. The western branch of the Chalukyas held sway in the Konkan and the Maharashtra country, and had their capital at Kalyan; while the eastern branch of the same race ruled over Eastern Deccan, and had their capital at Rajamandri, near the mouth of the Godavari river. Sir Walter Elliot published lists of the kings of the two houses in 1858, and the lists have since been copied by other writers.

CHALUKYA DYNASTIES

WESTERN BRANCH, CAPITAL—KALYAN

		A.D.
1.	Jaya Sinha Vijayaditya I	470
2.	Raja Sinha, Visnu Vardhana	
3.	Vijayaditya II	
4.	Pulakesin I	
5.	Kritti Varma I	
6.	Mangalisa	
7.	Satyasraya Pulakesin II (Contemporary of Siladitya II. and of Houen Tsang).	609
8.	Amara	
9.	Aditya	
10.	Vikramaditya I	
11.	Vinayaditya	
12.	Vijayaditya III	
13.	Vikramaditya II	
14.	Kritti Varma II	
15.	Kritti Varma III	709
16.	Tailapa I	
17.	Bhima Raja	
18.	Kritti Varma IV	
19.	Vijayaditya IV	
20.	Vikramaditya III or Tailapa II (Restored the monarchy after usurpation by Ratta Kula	973
21.	Satyasraya II	
22.	Vikramaditya IV	
23.	Jaha Sinha	
24.	Somesvara I	
25.	Somesvara II	
26.	Vikramaditya V.	
27.	Somesvara III	1127
28.	Jagadeka	1138
29.	Tailapa III	1150
30.	Somesvara IV	1180

(Dethroned by Bijala of the Kala Churya line. The southern part of the dominions fell under the Ballala dynasty of Mysore).

EASTERN BRANCH. CAPITAL—RAJAMANDRI.

1.	Vishnu Vardhana II. (605 A.D)	
2.	Jaya Sinha I.	
3.	Indra Raja.	
4.	Visnu Vardhana III.	
5.	Manga Yuva Raja.	
6.	Jaya Sinha II.	Brothers.
7.	Kokkili.	
8.	Vishnu Vardhana IV.	
9.	Vijayaditya I.	
10.	Vishnu Vardhana V.	
11.	Narendra Mrigaraja.	
12.	Vishnu Vardhana VI.	
13.	Vijayaditya II. (conquered Kalinga).	
14.	Chalukya Bhima I.	
15.	Vijayaditya III.	
16.	Amma Raja.	
17.	Vijayaditya IV.	
18.	Talapa (usurper).	
19.	Vijayaditya V.	
20.	Yuddha Malla.	
21.	Raja Vima II.	
22.	Amma Raja II.	
23.	Dhanarnava (interregnum of twenty-seven years).	
24.	Kritti Varma.	
25.	Vimaladitya.	
26.	Raja Narendra.	
27.	Rajendra Chola.	
28.	Vikrama Deva Chola.	
29.	Raja Raja Chola (viceroy for one year).	
30.	Vira Deva Chola (1079 to 1135 A.D.)	

(After this the country fell under the sway of the Kakatya dynasty of Warangal)

A list of kings conveys no ideas of a people's history to the reader, and, unfortunately, we are able to supply little more about the Chalukyas than the foregoing lists. The founder of the earlier or western branch is said to have been related to the founder of the Valabhi kings, Bhatarka Senapati. The fourth king, Pulakesin I., was the same who, a hundred years before Houen Tsang's time, harried the monastery at Amaravati, and abolished Buddhism in those parts. He also probably conquered Chola, burnt Conjeveram, and expelled the Pahlavas, who, were the dominant race in the Deccan before the Chalukyas rose in power. The Seventh king, Pulakesin II., was the great rival whom Siladitya II. of Kanouj could never defeat, and we have already quoted a spirited account of the Maharattas under this great and warlike king, from Houen Tsang's travels. The dynasty seems to have flourished till about 750 A. D. After this the power of the family was alienated for a time, until the time of Tailapa II., who restored the monarchy in 973 A.D. The dynasty enjoyed two centuries more of prosperity, after which it came to an end.

The eastern or junior branch extended their territories northwards to the frontiers of Cuttack, and fixed their capital at Raja Mahendri, the modern Rajamandri. More than one revolution occurred in the course of their history, but the old family always contrived to regain its power until the kingdom passed by marriage to Rajendra Chola, the then dominant sovereign of Southern India, in whose person the power of the Cholas reached its zenith.

The Chalukyas, like all the Rajput dynasties in Northern India, were staunch Hindus, and were inimical to Buddhism ; and we shall in a future chapter give some account of the works of Hindu architecture which India owes to this dynasty.

To turn now to the south of the Krishna river, we come to the ancient Dravidian country stretching southwards to Cape Comorin. The ancient Dravidians appear to have had a civilisation of their own before Aryan civilisation was imported into their land. We have said something of the Pandyas, who founded their kingdom in the extreme south,

many centuries before the Christian Era. Strabo speaks of an ambassador from King Pandion to Augustus, and it is conjectured that the ambassador was from the Pandya country. At the time of the "Piriplus," the Pandya kingdom included the Malabar coast ; and from the frequent mention of this country by classical writers, we know that the Pandya kingdom was sufficiently civilised, in the centuries immediately before and after the Christian Era, to carry on a brisk trade with the western nations. The seat of government was twice changed, and was at last fixed at Madura, where it was in Ptolemy's time, and remained in subsequent ages.

The Pandya kingdom was situated in the extreme south of India, including, roughly, the modern districts of Tinnivelly and Madura. To the north of this arose, before the Christian Era, another civilised kingdom, that of CHOLA, stretching along the Kaveri river and to the north of it. The capital of this country, Kanchi, has a name and a repute for learning in classical Sanskrit literature, and was a flourishing town when Houen Tsang visited India ; and there must have been constant communications between this seat of learning and Ujjayini and Kanouj in the north. In the eighth and succeeding centuries, the power of the Chola kings extended over a great part of Karnata and Telingana.

A third ancient kingdom, called CHERA, included Travancore, Malabar, and Koimbatur. It is mentioned by Ptolemy, and must have existed before the commencement of the Christian Era. Kerala also, including Malabar and Canara, was an adjoining kingdom, and was probably often under the rule, or under the protection of the Pandyan kings.

It has been discovered that the second edict of Asoka speaks of the Choda, Pada, and Kerala Putra countries ; and it has been conjectured that these names represent the Chola, the Pandya, and the Chera (or Kerala) kingdoms. It will thus appear that this triarchy of ancient Hindu kingdoms in the extreme south of India had already acquired a name before the third century B.C.

The possessions of this ancient triarchy of Southern India varied according to the powers of particular kings and dynas-

ties. The Pandyas were the most ancient, but after the Christian Era the Chola or Kanchi kings were the most famed and the most powerful, and were often at war with the eastern branch of the Chalukya house. The reader will find, in the list of the eastern Chalukya kings, the names of Rajendra Chola and his three successors, who were then the masters of Southern India.

Towards the close of the tenth century A.D., a great Rajput house rose in Mysore, named the BALLALAS. In the eleventh century they subjugated the whole of the Carnatic, and, as we have seen before, annexed thc southern dominions of the western Chalukyan house. The powerful house remained supreme in the Carnatic and Malabar until it was subverted by the Mahommedans in 1310 A.D.

We have to speak of one more Hiudu kingdom in the south, although its history falls within the Mahommedan period. After the fall of the Ballala kings of the Carnatic, a new family set itself up in the place of the Ballalas, and founded its capital at VIJAYANAGARA about 1344 A.D. The founding of Vijayanagara is ascribed to two princes, Bukkaraya and Harihara, with the aid of a learned Brahman, Madhava Vidyaranya. The earlist copperplate grant of Bukkaraya is dated 1370 A.D. Madhava, otherwise called Sayana, was his prime minister, and is the most learned and elaborate commentator of the Hindu sacred works that India has ever produced. The founding of a great Hindu kingdom in the fourteenth century was attended with a temporary revival of Hindu learning, and to Sayana we owe the series of commentaries on the Vedas, philosophical systems, law, and grammar, which are to this day considered authoritative in all parts of India.

For over two hundred years the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara prospered. It held its place among the Mahommedan kingdoms which arose in the Deccan, formed treaties and alliances, and won or lost territories by war. A closer intimacy sprang up between Hindus and Mahommedans than before ; the Bahmani kings employed Rajput troops, and the kings of Vijayanagara recruited Mahommedan troops, assigned

lands to their chiefs, and built mosques in their capital for them.

A fanatical spirit was, however, developed in the course of centuries, and the Mahommedan chiefs of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda (states formed out of the old Bahmani kingdom), combined against the Hindu kingdom. A great battle was fought on the Krishna river, near Telicota, in 1565 A.D., and the Mahammedans were victorious. The old and brave Raja was barbarously put to death in cold blood, and his head was kept in Bijapur for centuries as a trophy.

The monarchy of Vijayanagara was thus destroyed ; it was the last great Hindu kingdom in Southern India. But the Mahommedans did not complete the conquest of Southern India ; and the Carnatic, Travancore, and other places were occupied by petty chiefs, princes, zemindars, and polygars, who lived often in their hill forts, and came to notice in the time of the British wars in the Carnatic.

The brother of the last king of Vijayanagara settled at Chandragiri, and a descendant of his first granted the settlement of Fort St. George (Madras) to the English in 1640 A.D., *i.e.*, within a century after the fall of the old kingdom of Vijayanagara. This petty transaction is a curious and interesting link connecting the past with the present !

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION

THE form of Hinduism which prevailed in India previous to the spread of Buddhism is generally known as the Vedic religion, while the form of Hinduism which succeeded Buddhism is generally known as the Puranic religion. There are two cardinal distinctions between the Vedic and the Puranic religion,—one in doctrine, and the other in observance.

The Vedic religion was to the very last a religion of elemental gods ; of Indra, Agni, Surya, Varuna, the Maruts, the Asvins, and others ; and although the composers of the hymns and of the Upanishads rose to the conception of a Supreme and Universal Being, nevertheless sacrifices were still offered, by princes and the people alike, to the ancient elemental gods of the Rig Veda. In the same way, the Puranic religion classed all these elemental gods as deities, and recognised, far above and beyond them, the Supreme Being in his triple form,—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. The recognition of this Hindu Trinity is the distinctive feature of Puranic Hinduism in doctrine, and it is impossible not to suspect that this idea of a Trinity is borrowed from the Buddhist Trinity.

The distinctive feature of Puranic Hindusim in the matter of observance is image-worship. Vedic religion was a religion of sacrifice to the fire. From the most ancient times, whatever was offered to the gods was offered to the fire ; and down to the last days of the Rationalistic Period, kings' priests, as well as humble householders, offered sacrifices to the fire, and knew of no image-worship. Buddhism degenerated into idol-worship in the centuries after the Christian Era, and it is impossible not to suspect that modern Hindusthan borrowed its image-worship from Buddhism. It is certain that when the Code of Manu was compiled, in the Buddhist Age, image-worship was gaining ground, and was

condemned by that conservative lawgiver. The practice, however, steadily gained ground, until it became the essence of modern Hindu rites and celebrations. Sacrifice to the fire is now almost a thing of the past.

Such is the distinction in the doctrine and in observances between Vedic Hinduism and Puranic Hinduism. With that conservative feeling, however, which has always marked each new development of the Hindu religion, the Puranic writers avoided the *appearance* of an innovation, and selected the names of the Trinity from the ancient names in the Vedic Pantheon. Brahma, or, rather, Brahmanaspati, was the god of prayer in the Rig Veda ; and when the composers of the Upanishads conceived the idea of a Universal Being, they called that being Brahman. That name, therefore, was an appropriate one for the Creative function of the Divine Power. Vishnu was a name of the sun in the Rig Veda, the cherisher of all living being ; and the name therefore fitted the higher modern conception of the Preserving Divine Power. Rudra was a name of the thunder or thunder cloud in the Rig Veda ; and happier name could not be selected for the Destroying Divine Power. And when these different functions of the Divine Power were thus separately named, they very soon assumed distinct individualities and characters. The Trinity, as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, was unknown to Manu about the commencement of the Christian Era ; but the idea had become a national property by the time of Kalidasa in the sixth century A. D.

When the popular imagination had thus conceived separate deities out of these functions of the Divine Power, the deities had to be mated with goddesses. Sarasvati was mated with Brahma, and the reason which underlies this union is that Brahma in the Rig Veda was the god of prayers, and Sarasvati was the goddess of hymns. Vishnu was mated with a new goddess, Lakshmi, of whom we find no trace in ancient Sanskrit literature ; but there are some reasons for supposing that as Sita, the field furrow of the Rig Veda, assumed a distinctly human form and become the heroine of a national epic in India, Lakshmi stepped into her place as the goddess

of crops and wealth, and was a fit spouse for the preserving deity. And, lastly, Uma in the Kena Upanishad is a mysterious female, who explains to Indra the nature of Brahman. In the Satapatha Brahmana, Ambika is the sister of Rudra. And in the Mundaka Upanishad, Kali, Karali, &c., are the names of the seven tongues of the fire, Rudra being the fire or lightning. All these scattered hints are gathered together by the Puranic writers, and Uma and Ambika, Durga and Kali, are the different names of the consort of the dread destroyer,—Rudra, Siva, or Mahadeva.

But when we have spoken of the three supreme gods and their wives, we have said but little of modern Hinduism. A world of legends connect themselves with the incarnations of one of the Trinity,—Vishnu or the Preserver. Rama, mythical hero of the Ramayana, was considered an incarnation of Vishnu ; and Krishna, the son of Devaki, who was a pupil of the teacher Ghora Angirasa in the Chhandogya Upanishad, and was merely a Yadava chief in the older parts of the Mahabharata, assumed a divine character, and was considered another incarnation of Vishnu. And as Krishna became more and more a popular deity, new stories of his sports with the milkmaids of Vrindavana were multiplied in the Puranas.

Krishna, as we have seen before, is an ancient name in Sanskrit sacred literature. But his recent appearance as a Supreme Deity, and the stories about his birth, and about Kansa and the massacre of the innocents, and the resemblance between the Bible and the Bhagavat Gita, have led many European scholars to suppose that the Hindus have borrowed Christian legends and ideas, and applied them to Krishna. An interesting controversy was maintained for some years in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. Dr. Lorisner, writing in 1869, asserted the indebtedness of the Hindus ; Mr. Telang of Bombay, and Professor Windisch of Heidelberg, denied the indebtedness ; Professor Bhandarkar pointed out references to the deification of Krishna to the Mahabhasya, a work of the second century B.C. ; and Professor Weber, while admitting the reciprocal action and mutual influence of

Gnostic and Indian conceptions in the first centuries of the Christian Era, considers Dr. Lorisner's attempt to be "overdone."

Siva is not as popular a deity now as Vishnu, but in the Puranic Age—in the times of Vikramaditya and of the Lion kings of Orissa—Siva was more popular. Strange stories have been blended together in the Puranic legends about Siva's consort. In the Satapatha Brahmana we are told of a sacrifice being performed by Daksha Parvati ; but the story that Sati (Siva's consort and Daksha's daughter) gave up her life at the sacrifice, is a Puranic addition. Again, in the Kena Upanishad we find mention of Uma Haimavati, who explains to Indra the nature of Brahman ; and this character of Uma Haimavati suggested the later Puranic legend that Sati was reborn as Uma, the daughter of the Himalaya mountains. How that mountain maiden attended on Siva during his meditations ; how, though aided by the god of love, she failed to make any impression on the divine anchorite ; and how she at last won him by her penances and devotions, —these are all lovely creations of the Puranic fancy which have been embalmed in the immortal poetry of Kalidasa.

Such are the leading myths connected with the deities of the Hindu Trinity. The ancient elemental gods of the Rig Veda occupy a far lower rank in the modern Hindu Pantheon. Nevertheless, there are glowing accounts in the Puranas of Indra's heaven thronged by the bright Vedic gods, Agni, Vayu, &c. ; by their celestial troops, chariots, and elephants ; by graceful Apsaras, and by musical Gandharvas. But even these Vedic gods have changed their character. Indra is no longer the soma-drinking martial god who helps Aryans in their wars against aborigines. Times have changed, and ideas have changed with the times. Puranic Indra is a gorgeous king of a luxurious and somewhat voluptuous celestial court, where dance and music occupy most of his time. His queen, Sachi or Indrani, is a noble and spirited conception, and is honoured by all the gods. The Apsaras of the Veda have attained lovely individualities, and Rambha, Tilottama, and the Puranic Urvasi are the courtesans of heaven, and regale the leisure

hours of Indra by their dance and their amours. Indra is said to have attained his proud position by his austere penances, and is in constant fear lest any mortals on earth should attain the same rank by the same means. Not unoften, therefore, are the heavenly nymphs sent down by Indra to earth to disturb severe penances, and beguile the heart of anchorites by their irresistible charms. The Asuras are another source of his apprehension, and though expelled from heaven, they often return in force, and reconquer it by sheer fighting. On such occasions Indra and his followers have to ask the succour of some of the superior deities, Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva. These deities never condescend to help the minor gods against the Asuras; but they console the beaten gods, and suggest to them plans for recovering their position. On one such occasion the gods devised a marriage between Siva and the mountain maid Uma, and Kumara, Skanda or Kartikeya, the issue of the union, led back the expelled gods to victory and to heaven. Both Kumara and his brother Ganesa, with his elephant head, are unknown to ancient Hindu religion, and are Puranic creations.

While the popular mind is thus engaged with the endless legends connected with these Puranic gods,—whose number, we are told, is 330 millions, (an obvious exaggeration of the thirty-three Vedic gods), the wise and the learned are constantly reminded of the cardinal principle of the Upanishads, that there is but One Deity, and that gods and Asuras and men, yea the whole universe, are but emanations from that Universal Soul, and will return to that Universal Soul.

Virtuous deeds lead to residence in heaven for long or short periods, and evil deeds lead to tortures in hell, also for stated periods; and then the soul returns again to animate new bodies in succeeding births. The doctrine of transmigration is as firmly ingrained in the Hindu mind as the doctrine of resurrection is in the Christian mind and the lowest Hindu sees a possible relation or kinsman in a new-born babe, or even in a bird or animal. It is only by pious contemplation and learning, by sinlessness and freedom from all earthly feelings and passions, that the soul can at last shake off earthly

trammels, and mingle with the Universal Soul which is the Hindu's final salvation. We see how this, idea, started in the Upanishads, was modified into the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvana, and was then accepted back again as the cardinal principle of Vedantism and of madern or Puranic Hinduism. The truly learned and wise, therefore, are recommended not to win a place in Indra's heaven by meritorious acts, but to seek final absorption into the Universal Soul by effecting freedom in this world from worldly feelings and passions.

Later developments of Hinduism have proceeded on the same recognition of One Deity, and some name from the modern Hindu Pantheon has been selected for the purpose. Dr. Wilson, in his work on the religious sects of the Hindus, enumerates and describes nineteen classes of Vaishnavas or followers of Vishnu, eleven classes of Saivas or followers of Siva, and four classes of Saktas or followers of Sakti, the consort of Siva, besides other miscellaneous sects.

The Vaishnava religion in many of its forms seems to be only a survival of the Buddhist religion. There is the same theoretical equality of all men and of all castes, and the same prohibition against the destruction of animal life. But these principles are coupled with faith in one personal deity Vishnu, who is often, however, adored by the common people as Krisna. Stories about the amours of Krishna with the milkmaids of Vrindavana have been conceived and spread among the people since the Puranic times. Bankim Chandra, the greatest living author in India, has lately proved to his countrymen that these stories find no mention in the Mahabharata. The followers of Siva and his consort Sakti have often adopted still more corrupt doctrines and practices.

Such are the doctrines and tenets of modern Hinduism in its various phases, but the character of a nation is shaped and influenced more by rites and observances than by tenets ; and, as we have stated before, there has been a wide departure from the old Vedic days, in religious rites and observances.

The worship of images in temples was unknown to the Hindus before the Buddhist revolution, but seems to have come into fashion when Buddhism was the prevailing religion. We

have seen before that Manu, who was a strong conservative in matters of religious rites, upheld the ancient system of offering sacrifices in the domestic or sacrificial fire, and indignantly classed temple priests with vendors of liquor and sellers of meat. Temples and images, however, had their attraction for the popular mind, and by the sixth century they were regarded with veneration, and had to a great extent supplanted the ancient form of worship. In the literature of the sixth to eighth century A.D., we seldom read of sacrifices, except those performed by kings ; while Kalidasa and other poets often speak of temples and the images worshipped there.

The change was undoubtedly one in the wrong direction. The worship of images has never an ennobling influence on a people's mind ; but in India the practice was accompanied by other evils. Down to the time of Manu, the Vaisyas or the mass of the people could worship their gods in their own way, and could offer libations at their domestic hearths. When, however, the worship was transferred from the fireside to the temple, priests as custodians of such temples had an additional influence on the popular mind, and forged an additional chain round the necks of the people. Pompous celebrations and gorgeous decorations arrested the imagination and fostered the superstition of the populace ; poetry, arts, architecture, sculpture, and music lent their aid ; and within a few centuries the nation's wealth was lavished on those gorgeous edifices and ceremonials which were the outward manifestations of the people's unlimited devotion and faith. Pilgrimages, which were rare or unknown in very ancient times, were organised on a stupendous scale ; gifts in lands and money poured in for the support of temples ; and religion itself gradually transformed itself to a blind veneration of images and their custodians. The great towns of India were crowded with temples ; and new gods and new images found sanctuaries in stone edifices, and in the hearts of ignorant worshippers.

We will in the following chapter illustrate the foreign remarks on Puranic Hinduism by a brief examination of the Puranic literature.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

1. Dharma Sastras

THE Dharma Sutras of Gautama, Vasishtha, Baudhayana, and Apastamba furnished us with the best available materials for an account of the manners and laws of the Rationalistic Period. The Dharma Sastra of Manu supplied us with equally valuable materials for an account of Hindu life in the Buddhist Period. Fortunately, the series of Dharma Sastras was continued in the Puranic times, and Yajnavalkya gives us a list of no less than twenty works. They are :—

1. Manu.
2. Atri.
3. Vishnu.
4. Harita.
5. Yajnavalkya.
6. Usanas.
7. Angiras.
8. Yama.
9. Apastamba.
10. Samvarta.
11. Katyayana.
12. Brihaspati.
13. Parasara.
14. Vyasa.
15. Sankha.
16. Likhita.
17. Daksha.
18. Gautama.
19. Satatapa.
20. Vasishtha.

Parasara gives us a list of the same twenty works, only substituting Kasyapa for Vishnu, Garga for Vyasa, and Prachetas for Yama. Of these twenty works, Gautama, Apastamba, and Vasishtha belong, as we have seen before, to the Rationalistic Period, and Manu belongs to the Buddhist Period. The remaining sixteen works are probably also based on ancient Sutra works, but belong in their present form to the Puranic Age, or to the centuries subsequent to the Mahommedan conquest of India.

And herein consists our difficulty. We cannot safely refer to these sixteen Dharma Sastras for an account of the manners of the Puranic Age, because we do not know which of them belong to the Puranic Age, and which to later times. Some of them undoubtedly belong to the Puranic times, or even

earlier—but chapters have been interpolated in these works in recent times, after the Mahomedan conquest. Others have various recensions, and those which are most commonly used in India are not the older recensions, but are modern ones compiled under the Mahommedan rule. Others, again, appear wholly to have been composed in this recent age. An account of the manners of the Hindus, drawn from the Dharma Sastras, would therefore be an account of the Mahommedan times,—not of the Puranic Age which we are now seeking to describe. A few details about the sixteen Dharma Sastras will illustrate this.

1. *Atri.*—The recension we have seen is a short work of less than four hundred couplets written in continuous sloka metre. It insists on the necessity of perusing modern Sastras as well as the ancient Vedas (11); recommends bathing in the Falgu river and visiting Gadadhara Deva (57); recommends the drinking of the water with which the feet of Siva and Vishnu have been washed; despises all Mlechchhas (180, 183); refers to the rite of the burning of widows (209): and has all the marks of a work composed or recast after the Mahommedan conquest.

2. *Vishnu,*—Of the sixteen Dharma Sastras enumerated above, Vishnu is the only one in prose, and can therefore claim a high antiquity. Dr. Jolly points out its close resemblance with the Grihya Sutra of the Kathaka Kalpa Sutra, which undoubtedly belongs to the Rationalistic Period; and he maintains with Dr. Buhler that the bulk of the Vishnu Dharma Sastra is really the ancient Dharma Sutra of that Kalpa Sutra. Nevertheless, this ancient work seems to have been repeatedly recast and modified. Dr. Buhler maintains that the whole work was recast by an adherent of Vishnu; and that the final and introductory chapters (in verse) were composed by another and a still later writer. The period in which the work was thus repeatedly recast is between the fourth and the eleventh century A. D.

As might be expected, the work has a very composite appearance. It contains chapters which are shown to have been quoted by Vasishtha and Baudhayana of the Rationalistic

Period, while it contains other passages which it has borrowed from Harivansa and other modern works. Chapter LXV contains ancient and genuine Kathaka mantras transferred and adapted to a Vishnuite ceremony ; chapter XCVII seeks to reconcile Sankhya and Yoga Philosophy with the Vaishnava creed ; Chapter LXXVIII enumerates the modern week days (Sunday to Saturday) which find no mention in ancient Sanskrit works ; Chapters XX, 39, and XXV, 14 allude to the self-immolation of widows ; Chapter LXXXIV prohibits the performance of Sraddha in the kingdom of Mlechchas ; and Chapter LXXXV refers to some fifty modern places of pilgrimage. The introductory chapter, which is in continuous sloka, and in which the Earth in the shape of a beautiful woman is introduced to Vishnu reposing with his consort Lakshmi in the milky sea, is probably among the latest of the hundred chapters comprising the existing work.

It is thus that our ancient works have been altered, recast, and tampered with, to the delight of supporters of every new creed and every modern custom, but to the despair of the historian !

3. *Harita.*—This is another ancient work which has been completely recast in recent times. Harita is mentioned by Baudhayana, Vasishtha, and Apastamba, who are all writers of the Rationalistic Period. Extracts from Harita found in the Mitakshara and Dayabhaga are all in aphoristic prose. But nevertheless the work of Harita which we have seen is in continuous sloka, and its contents, too, are modern. In the first chapter we are told the Puranic story that Vishnu lay with his consort Sri on the mythical snake in the midst of waters ; and that a lotus grew on his navel, from which sprang Brahma, who created the world. In Chapter II there is mention of the worship of Narasinha Deva, and in Chapter IV of the worship of Vishnu ; while the seventh or concluding chapter speaks of Yoga Sastra.

4. *Yajnavalkya.*[1]—Stenzler and Lassen place Yajnavalkya

1. The reader must distinguish between the ancient Yajnavalkya, the priest of Janaka, and the modern writer who has compiled the Dharma Sastra.

before the time of Vikramaditya, but after the rise of Buddhism. Later researches have enabled scholars to place Manu in the first or second century before or after the Christian Era ; and as Yajnavalkya comes undoubtedly after Manu, his probable date is the fifth century after Christ, *i.e.*, about the commencement of the Puranic Age. An examination of the contents of the work goes to some extent to confirm this opinion. In II, 296, there is an allusion to Buddhist nuns, and there are many allusions to Buddhist habits and doctrines. Manu allows men of the higher castes to marry Sudra women ; but Yajnavalkya objects to that ancient custom (I, 56). In many respects, however, Yajnavalkya is nearer to Manu than to the later Dharma Sastras, and on the whole Yajnavalkya is the only work among the sixteen alluded to above which can be wholly relied on as a picture of the Puranic Age. The work is divided into three chapters ; and contains over a thousand couplets.

5. *Usanas*—In its present form this work is a very modern compilation. It speaks of the Hindu Trinity (III, 50) ; alludes to the self-immolation of widows (III, 117) ; condemns those who make voyages by sea (VI, 33) ; and recommends self-immolation in fire or water for sinners (VIII, 34). A wearisome multiplication of rules, prohibitions, and penances characterises this modern work, which is divided into nine chapters, and contains nearly six hundred couplets.

6. *Angiras.*—The work of this name which is before us is one short chapter of seventy-three couplets. It is a modern work, and condemns the cultivation of indigo as an impure trade unfit for pure castes.

7. *Yama.*—Yama is mentioned by Vasishtha of the Rationalistic Period ; but the Yama-smritis which exist in the present day are modern works, and could not have been meant by Vasishtha. We have a short work of seventy-eight couplets before us. Along with Angiras, it alludes to washermen, workers in leather, dancers, Barudas, Kaivartas, Medas, and Bhils as impure castes.

8. *Samvarta.*—A modern metrical work of over two hundred couplets, and little importance. Along with Yama,

it considers washermen, dancers, and workers in leather as impure.

10. *Katyayana* (whom the reader must distinguish from the ancient critic of Panini) undertakes to throw light,—like a lamp,—on such rules and rites as were left obscure by Gobhila, whose Grihya Sutra has been noticed by us in our account of the Rationalistic Period. Katyayana's Dharma Sastra, however, belongs to recent times, and is divided into twenty-nine chapters, with nearly five hundred couplets. In I, 11-14, we are told of the worship of Ganesa, and of the mothers,—Gauri, Padma, Sachi, Savitri, Jaya, Vijaya, &c.; and we are also told that the worship should be paid to their images or their likenesses painted on with canvas. In XII, 2 (which is in prose, their is a mention of the Hindu Trinity; in XIX, 7, Uma is named; and in XX, 10, there is an allusion to Rama having performed sacrifice with a golden image of Sita when the real Sita was banished.

11. *Brihaspati*. We have seen a small fragment in eighty couplets, which is apparently modern, and dwells on the merit of the gift of lands to Brahmans, and tries to impress on its readers the terrible effects of a Brahman's wrath. But a translation of an older and more reliable recension of Brihaspati has appeared in the Sacred Books of the East series.

12. *Parasara* is admittedly one of the latest of the Dharma Sastras. The compiler himself informs us (I, 23) that Manu for the Satya Yuga, Gautama for Treta Yuga, Sankha and Likhita were for Dvapara Yuga, and Parasara is for the present Kali Yuga. We have an allusion to the Hindu Trinity (I, 19), and an allusion to the self-immolation of widows (IV, 28 and 29). Nevertheless, widow-marriage was prevalent even in this late age, and Parasara allows a woman to marry again if her husband is not heard of or is dead, if he has become an ascetic or an outcast, or is impotent (IV, 26). The work is divided into twelve chapters, and has nearly six hundred couplets.

13. *Vyasa*[2] is still more recent. It mentions the Hindu

2 The reader must distinguish Parasara and Vyasa, the compilers of the modern Dharma Sastras, from the ancient astronomer and the

Trinity, of course (III. 24), and commends the self-immolation of widows (II, 53) ; and the degradation of the different guilds and professions which composed the bulk of the nation is more complete in Vyasa than in most other Dharma Sastras. For a picture of the manners of the Hindus under Mahommedan rule, Vyasa would furnish excellent materials. It is a short work divided into four chapters, and comprising over two hundred couplets.

14. *Sankhya*, like Vishnu, is an ancient work but recast in verse in recent times, although two passages in prose are still embedded in it. Dr. Buhler supposes that the prose portion consists of genuine Sutras taken from the original edition of Sankha, which belonged to the Rationalistic Period, and was entirely in aphorisms. There can be little doubt, however, that this edition is a comparatively modern one. In III, 7, we find mention of temples and of the image of Siva. In IV, 9, we find a prohibition against men of the upper castes marrying Sudra women, a practice which is allowed by Manu. In VII, 20, the author speaks of Vasudeva, a name of Vishnu. In XIV, 1-3, the author enumerates sixteen holy places ; and in XIV, 4, there is a prohibition against performing Sraddha, or even journeys in Mlechchha countries. But even in this recent work, widow marriage is allowed (XV, 13). The work is divided into eighteen chapters, and contains over three hundred couplets.

15. *Likhita*, as we find it, is a short modern work in ninety-two couplets, and alludes to temples of gods (4), and to living in Benares (11), and offering cakes at Gaya.

16. *Daksha* is also a modern work in seven chapters, and gives a pleasing picture of the domestic life and the duties of men and women. The picture is somewhat marred, however, by an allusion to the barbarous rite of the self-immolation of widows (IV, 20).

17. *Satatapa* in its present shape is, like Vyasa, one of

ancient compiler of the Vedas. The modern compilers had a weakness for assuming ancient names, probably to invest their works with a semblance of antiquity.

most recent of the sixteen Dharma Sastras enumerated, and alludes to Rudra, with his three eyes (I, 19); to the worship of Vishnu (I, 22); to the image of Brahma, with his four faces (II, 5); and also to the image of Yama, mounted on a buffalo, and with a staff in his hand (II, 18) Vishnu claims worship here under the names of Srivatsa-lanchhana, Vasudeva, and Jagannatha; his image of gold is to be covered with garments, and after worship is to be given away to Brahmans (II, 22-25). Sarasvati, who is now the consort of Brahma, also claims worship (II, 28); and we are told that the Harivansa and the Mahabharata should be heard (II, 30 and 37) to wipe away sins. Further on we hear of the image of Ganesa (II, 44), of the two Asvins (IV, 14), of Kuvera (V, 3), of Prachetas (V, 10), and of Indra (V, 17); all these golden images are to be made and worshipped only to be given away to Brahmans; and indeed the object of this work seems to be to recommend profuse gifts to Brahmans. There is no sin, no incurable disease, no domestic calamity, and no loss or injury to property which cannot be washed away by such gifts. As a picture of the form which Hindu religion assumed after the Mohommedan conquest, this work is valuable.

It will appear from the foregoing remarks that, with the exception of Yajnavalkya and probably one or two others, the sixteen Dharma Sastras are valueless as a picture of Hindu manners in the Puranic Age. Most of them have some value as pictures of the religion and manners of the Hindus living under the Mahommedan rule.

Unfortunately, the same remarks apply to some extent to the Puranas in the shape in which we have them now. They do not give us a natural and pleasing picture of the Hindu creeds of the Puranic Age, but rather enter into sectarian disputes about the supremacy of particular gods,—Vishnu, Siva, &c. And we know that these sectarian disputes prevailed most when the Mahommedan ruled India. To a brief account of the Puranas we now turn.

II. PURANAS

Amara Sinha, the lexicographer of the court of Vikramaditya, describes a Purana as Panchalakshana, or having five characteristic topics; and scholars agree that these five topics are—I. Primary creation or cosmogony; II. Secondary creation, or destruction and renovation of worlds, including chronology; III. Genealogy of gods and patriarchs; IV. Reigns of Manu or periods called Manvantaras; V. History of the Solar and Lunar races and their modern descendants. The Puranas which now exist, and which were recast after the Mahommedan conquest of India, very imperfectly conform to this definition.

The Puranas are divided into three classes, namely, those sacred to Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma respectively. Their names and the number of stanzas which they are supposed to contain, aggregating to 400,000, are given below :—

VAISHNAVA.		SAIVA		BRAHMA	
Vishnu	23,000	Matsya	14,000	Brahmanda	12,000
Naradiya	25,000	Kurma	17,000	Brahma Vaivarta	18,000
Bhagavata	18,000	Linga	11,000	Markandeya	9,000
Garuda	19,000	Vayu	24,000	Bhavishya	14,500
Padma	55,000	Skanda	81,100	Vamana	10,000
Varaha	24,000	Agni	15,400	Brahma	10,000

It is impossible to make room in the present work for the barest outline of the contents of these voluminous books, the work of generations of priests labouring for centuries together to recast ancient mythology, history, and traditions, and also to preach modern cults and sectarian beliefs. We will only mention in a few words the salient features of each work.[3]

1. *Brahma Purana.*—The early chapters give a description of the creation and an account of the solar and lunar dynasties to the time of Krishna. A brief description of the universe succeeds, after which we have an account of Orissa, with its

3. The reader will find a fuller account of the contents of the Puranas in Wilson's Preface to his Vishnu Purana, pages xxvii to lxxxvi, from which our account is mainly taken.

holy temples and sacred groves dedicated to the Sun, to Siva, and to Jagannatha. To this succeed a life of Krishna, which is word for word the same as in the Vishnu Purana, and the work ends with an account of the Yoga.

2. *Padma Purana.*—This most voluminous of all the Puranas (excepting Skanda only) is divided into five books, namely,—(1) Srishti or Creation, (2) Bhumi or Earth, (3) Svarga or Heaven, (4) Patala or the Lower Regions, and (5) Uttara Khanda, or Supplementary Chapter. The Srishti Khanda narrates the cosmogony and the genealogy of patriarchal families and also regal dynasties, and then comes to an account of the holiness of Lake Pushkara in Ajmir as a place of pilgrimage. The Bhumi Khanda deals in 127 chapters, with legends mostly relating to Tirthas, which include persons entitled to holy places of pilgrimage. This is followed by a description of the earth. The Svarga places Vaikuntha, the sphere of Vishnu, above all the heavens. It contains also rules of conduct for the several castes and the different stages of life, and also various legends, mostly modern. The Patala Khanda takes us to the snake-world. There Sesha (serpent) narrates the story of Rama, and this is followed by an account of Krishna's juvenilities and the merits of worshipping Vishnu. The Uttara Khanda, which is probably later than the other portions of the Purana, is intensely Vaishnava in its tone ; the nature of Bhakti or faith in Vishnu, the use of the Vaishnava marks on the body, the legends of Vishnu's incarnations, and the construction of images of Vishnu, are all explained by Siva to his consort Parvati, and they both finish by adoring Vishnu. We are also told that of the Hindu Trinity, Vishnu alone is entitled to respect ! There can be no doubt much of this sectarian controversy has been added after the Moslem conquest of India. There is mention, even in the earlier books of this Purana, of Mlechchhas flourishing in India, while to the last portions of the work Dr. Wilson gives the fifteenth or sixteenth century A. D. as the probable date.

3. *Vishnu Purana,* divided into six books.—The first book speaks of the creation of Vishnu and Lakshmi, and many

legends, including those of Dhruva and Prahlada. The second book describes the earth, with its seven islands and seven seas, and also describes Bharatavarsha and the nether regions, the planetary system, the sun, the moon, &c. The third book speaks of the Veda and its division into four Vedas by Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa in the Dvapara Yuga. It also names the eighteen Puranas, details the duties of the four castes and the four orders of life, and dwells on domestic and social ceremonies and sraddhas. The last chapter condemns Buddhists and Jainas. The fourth book gives us a history of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, and concludes with lists of the kings of Magadha, which we have quoted in Book IV, Chapter III. The fifth book is specially devoted to an account of Krishna, his boyish tricks, his sports with Gopis and his various deeds in life. The sixth and last book, again, inculcates devotion to Vishnu as sufficient to earn salvation for all castes and persons, and ends with chapters on Yoga and final emancipation.

4. *Vayu Purana*, otherwise called the Siva or Saiva Purana, is divided into four books. The first speaks of creation and the first evolution of beings. The second continues the subject of creation, and describes the various kalpas, gives us genealogies of the patriarchs, a description of the universe and the incidents of the Manvantaras, mixed up with legends and praises of Siva. The third book describes the differnet classes of creatures, and furnishes us with accounts of the Solar and Lunar dynasties and other kings. The fourth and last book speaks of the efficacy of the Yoga and the glory of Siva, with whom the Yoga is to be finally united.

Bhagavata Purana, better known as Srimat Bhagavata, is considered the holiest of the Puranas, at least in the estimation of the Vaishnava sects. The work begins as usual with cosmogony. Vasudeva is the supreme and active creator; the creation, the world is Maya, or illusion. We are also told that all castes, and even Mlechchhas may learn to have faith in Vasudeva—a purely Vaishnava doctrine. In the third book we have an account of the creation of Brahma, of the Varaha

incarnation of Vishnu, and of his incarnation as Kapila, the author of Sankhya philosophy! The traditions of Dhruva, Vena, Prithu, and Bharata are given in the fourth and fifth books; a variety of legends, intended to inculcate the worship of Vishnu, fill the sixth; the legend of Prahlada is given in the seventh; while numerous other legends are narrated in the eighth. The ninth book narrates the Solar and Lunar dynasties; while the tenth book, which is the characterisic part of the work, is entirely appropriated to the life of Krishna. The eleventh book describes the destruction of the Yadavas and the death of Krishna; and twelfth and last book gives lists of later kings, like what we have in the Vishnu Purana.

6. *Narada Purana.*—This work contains a variety of prayers to Vishnu and legends inculcating devotion to Hari. Another work, called Brihat Naradiya Purana, contains similar prayers to Vishnu, injunctions to observe various rites, and to keep holy seasons in honour of him, as well as various legends. Both these works are very recent, and Dr. Wilson conjectures they are not the original works mentioned in the list of eighteen Puranas.

7. *Markandeya Purana* occupies itself mainly with a narration of legends. Legends of Vritra's death, of Baladeva's penance, of Harischandra, and of the quarrel between Vasishtha and Visvamitra are followed by a discussion about birth, death, sin, and hell. Then follows a description of creation and of Manvantaras. An account of the future Manvantara leads to a narrative of the actions of the goddess Durga, which is the special boast of this Purana, and is the text-book of the worship of Chandi or Durga. It is the famous Chandi Patha; and this portion of the work is read to the present day in Hindu households, as well as in temples of Durga.

8. *Agni Purana.*—The early chapters describe the incarnations of Vishnu. This is followed by accounts of religious ceremonies, many of which belong to the Tantrika ritual, and some to mystical forms of Shiva worship. Interspersed with these are chapters descriptive of the earth and the universe.

These are followed by chapters on the duties of kings, on the art of war, and on laws, after which we have an account of the Vedas and Puranas. The genealogical lists are meagre. Medicine, Rhetoric, Prosody, and Grammar conclude the work.

9. *Bhavishya Purana*, with its continuation the *Bhavishyottara Purana*.—The first treats of creation, explains the Sanskaras and the duties of the different castes and orders of life, and describes various rites. All this, which occupies about one-third of the work, is followed by conversations between Krishna, his son, Samba, Vasishtha, Narada, and Vyasa, on the power and the glory of the sun. "There is some curious matter in the last chapters relating to the Magas, silent worshippers of the sun, from Sakadvipa ; as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term Magh ; and connected the fire-worshippers of Iran with those of India."[4] The Bhavishyottara is, like the Bhavishya, a sort of manual of religious offices.

10. *Brahma Vaivarta Purana*.—It is divided into four books, describing the acts of Brahma, Devi, Ganesa, and Krishna respectively. The original chapter of the work has, however, been much altered ; the present work is decidedly sectarian, and prominence is given to Krishna over all other deities. The great mass of the existing work is taken up with descriptions of Vrindavana, with endless prayers to Krishna, and with tiresome descriptions of the loves of Radha and the Gopis.

11. *Linga Purana*.—The work begins with an account of creation, and Siva is the creator. The appearance of the great fiery Linga takes place in the interval of a creation, and Brahma and Vishnu are humbled. The Vedas proceed from the Linga, by which Brahma and Vishnu become enlightened, and acknowledge the superior glory of Siva. Another creation follows, Siva repeats the story of his twenty-eight incarnations (intended, no doubt, as a counterpart of the twenty-four incarnations of Vishnu[5] in the Bhagavata Purana), and this is

4. Wilson, Preface to *Vishnu Purana*, lxiv.

5. The idea of Vishnu's twenty four incarnations was probably originally borrowed from the story of the twenty-four Buddhas who were born before Gautama Buddha.

followed by a description of the universe and of the regal dynasties to the time of Krishna, Legends, rites, and prayers to Siva succeed. It is noticeable that even in the Linga Purana "there is nothing like the phallic orgies of antiquity ; it is all mystical and spiritual."[6]

12. *Varaha Purana.*—The work is almost wholly occupied with forms of prayer and rules for devotional observances addressed to Vishnu, interspersed with legendary illustrations. A considerable portion of the work is taken up with accounts of various Tirthas or places of Vaishnava pilgrimage.

13. *Skanda Purana.*—This work, the most voluminous of all the Puranas, is not a work in a collective form, but exists in fragments, the aggregate of which exceeds the limit of 81,100 stanzas of which the Purana is said to consist. The Kasi Khanda is a minute description of the temples of Siva in Benares, mixed with directions for worship and a variety of legends. The Utkala Khanda gives an account of the holiness of Orissa and of Jagannatha, and is no doubt a later appendage by Vaishnava writers, who thus added an account of a Vaishnava Tirtha to an eminently Saiva Purana. Besides the different Khandas, there are several Sanhitas and numerous Mahatmyas included in this very composite Purana.

14. *Vamana Purana.*—Contains an account of the dwarf-incarnation of Vishnu. The worship of Linga is also treated of, but the main object of the work is to celebrate the sanctity of holy places in India, and the Purana therefore is little else than a succession of Mahatmyas. Legends of Daksha's sacrifice, of the burning of Kamadeva, of the marriage of Siva and Uma and the birth of Kartikeya, of the greatness of Bali and his subjugation by Krishna as a dwarf—all come in apparently as reasons for particular sites and Tirthas being considered holy.

15. *Kurma Purana.*—The name of this, as of the preceding Purana, is that of an incarnation of Vishnu, but nevertheless Kurma is classed with Saiva Puranas, and the greater portion of it inculcates the worship of Siva and Durga. The first

6. Wilson, Preface to *Vishnu Purana*, lxix.

part of the Purana deals with creation, the incarnations of Vishnu, the solar and lunar dynasties up to the time of Krishna, the universe, and the Manvantaras ; and with these are mixed up hymns to Mahesvara, and various Saiva legends. The second part deals with the knowledge of Siva through contemplation and through Vedic rites.

16. *Matsya Purana.*—The work opens with an account of the Matsya or fish-incarnation of Vishnu. The story is no doubt a development of the simpler legend in the Satapatha Brahmana, which bears so curious a resemblance to the story of Noah and the Deluge in the Old Testament. In the Purana it is Vishnu who, in the shape of a fish, preserves Manu with the seeds of all things in an ark from the waters of an inundation. Whilst the ark floats fastened to the fish, Manu enters into conversation with him, and his questions and Vishnu's replies form the main substance of the Purana. The creation, the royal dynasties, and the duties of the different orders, are successively dealt with. Legends about Siva's marriage with Uma and the birth of Kartikeya follow, and these are mixed up with Vaishnava legends. Some Mahatmyas are introduced, including the Narmada-Mahatmya ; and these are chapters on law and morals, on the making of images, on future kings, and on gifts.

17. *Garuda Purana.*—It contains a brief notice of the creation, but is mainly occupied with religious observances, holidays, prayers from the Tantrika ritual, astrology, palmistry, medicine, &c. The last portion of the work is taken up with directions for the performance of obsequial rites. There is no account in the existing work of the birth of Garuda, and it is possible that the original Garuda Purana has been lost to us.

18. *Brahmanda Purana.*—This work, like the Skanda, is no longer to be found as a collective work, but exists in fragments ; and later writers have taken advantage of this to attach various independent treatises from time to time to the non-existent original. A very curious work, called the Adhyatma Ramayana, is considered to be a part of the Brahmanda Purana.

The above rapid review of the contents of the eighteen voluminous Puranas sufficiently indicates the nature of the works. The eighteen works were originally composed or recast in the Puranic Period, and existed when Alberuni visited India in the eleventh century ; but there can be no doubt that they have been considerably modified and enlarged since, specially by Saiva and Vaishnava writers, who were anxious to establish the supremacy of their respective creeds. Siva was the first popular god of the Puranic Period, as we find in the annals of Orissa and some other provinces, as well as in the classic literature of the Puranic Age. Krishna, who is scarcely much known to Kalidasa, Bharavi, Banabhatta, Bhavabhuti, and other classic authors, became the popular god of the Hindus at a later date ; Magha and Jayadeva celebrated his deeds in the eleventh and twelfth centuries ; and all through the Musalman rule, Krishna was no doubt the most favourite deity of the Hindus. Much of the Puranas dwelling on the sports and loves of Krishna, as well as all the portions dealing with the worship of Siva or Sakti according to the Tantrika ritual, appear to be productions of centuries subsequent to the Mahommedan conquest. It is because the Puranas have been so much changed and recast after the Moslem conquest, that they are unsafe and unreliable as a picture of Hindu life and manners in the Puranic Age.

Beside these eighteen Puranas, an equal number of Upa-Puranas are mentioned, but the lists given by different authorities vary. The Upa-Puranas are certainly more recent than the Puranas, and have probably all been composed since the Mahommedan conquest. The best known among the Upa-Puranas is the Kalika, dedicated to the worship of Siva's wife, and essentially a Sakta work. It describes the sacrifice of Daksha and the death of Sati, and proceeds to narrate that Siva carried his wife's corpse about the world, that the different portions of the corpse were scattered in different parts of India, and that these places accordingly became sacred. Lingas erected in these sports draw hundreds of thousands of pilgrims year after year to the present day. Such are the myths believed, and such are the religious rites practised by the

descendants of those who sang the hymns of the Veda, and started the deep and earnest inquiries of the Upanishads !

III. TANTRAS

But Hindu literature in the period of the Mahommedan rule presents us even with a stranger aberration of human fancy and human credulity. The Yoga system of philosophy degenerated into various strange practices, by which supernatural powers, it was believed, could be obtained. We have evidence of this even in Bhavabhuti, who lived in the eighth century A.D. ; but, later on, the system was developed into stranger forms. The works known as the Tantras—creations of the last period of Hindu degeneracy under a foreign rule—give us elaborate accounts of dark, cruel, and obscene practices for the acquisition of supernal powers. And, by an audacious myth, these strange products of "the mind diseased" were ascribed to the deity Siva himself! The number of Tantras is said to be sixty-four ; we have seen some of them which have been published in Calcutta.

Ignorance is credulous, and feebleness hankers after power. And when a superstitious ignorance and a senite feebleness had reached their last stage of degeneracy, men sought by unwholesome practices and unholy rites to acquire that power which Providence has rendered attainable only by a fire and healthy exercise of our faculties,—moral, intellectual. and physical. To the historian, the Tantra literature represents, not a special phase of Hindu thought, but a diseased form of the human mind, which is possible only when the national life has departed, when all political consciousness has vanished, and the lamp of knowledge is extinct.

CHAPTER VIII

CASTE

We have seen in the last Book that the great Aryan population of India (except priests and kings) was still a united body in the Buddhist Period, and had not yet been disunited into the profession-castes of modern times. The tendency to disintegration was greater in the Puranic Period, and we have frequent allusions to different professions distinctly marked off from each other. But nevertheless an impartial examination of the evidence available will convince a candid reader that the profession castes of the modern times were not completely formed even in the Puranic Period, and that the body of the people was still one united caste,—the Vaisya,—engaged in various professions. The complete disintegration of the nation into numerous and distinct profession-castes was subsequent to the Moslem conquest of India and the national death of the Hindus.

It is scarcely necessary to premise that we will, in this chapter, refer only to Yajnavalkya and one or two other Dharma Sastras which are of the Puranic Age. On the Dharma Sastras composed or completely recast after the Mahommedan conquest, we cannot safely place any reliance.

All the Dharma Sastras of the Puranic Period refer to the four great castes, viz, the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras. The first three castes were still entitled to the performance of religious rites, and to the study of the Veda. Their respective duties were to teach the Veda, to practise arms, and to tend cattle; and their modes of livelihood were for a Brahman to sacrifice for others and to receive alms; for a Kshatriya to protect the people; and for a Vaisya, tillage, keeping cows, traffic, money-lending, and growing seeds. (*Vishnu*, II.)

The duty of the Sudra was to serve the other castes, and his mode of livelihood was to follow different branches of art

(*Vishnu*, II). He could also trade (*Yajnavalkya*, I, 120), and no doubt followed various other professions.

Yajnavalkya tells us the old story of the production of mixed castes by the union of men and women of different parent castes. His thirteen mixed castes are here enumerated :—

Father.	*Mother.*	*Caste formed.*
Brahman	Kshatriya.	Murdhabhishikta.
Do.	Vaisya.	Ambashta.
Do.	Sudra.	Nishada or Parasava.
Kshatriya.	Vaisya.	Mahishya.
Do.	Sudra.	Ugra.
Vaisya.	Sudra	Karana.
Kshatriya.	Brahman.	Suta.
Vaisya.	Do.	Vaidehaka.
Sudra.	Do.	Chandala.
Vaisya.	Kshatriya.	Magadha.
Sudra.	Do.	Kshattri.
Do]	Vaisya	Ayogava.
Mahisya.	Karana.	Rathakara.

(*Yajnavalkya*, I, 91.95)

It is scarcely necessary to point out once again that these so-called mixed castes are not the modern profession-castes of India, but are, most of them, names of aboriginal tribes who were gradually assuming Hindu rites and civilisation, without however, being completely merged in the recognised Sudra caste. It would almost seem that Yajnavalkya had some notion of these tribes being gradually fused with the Hindus, for immediately after the enumeration given above, he informs us that inferior castes can rise in the seventh, or even in the fifth Yuga, according to works (I, 96).

The so-called "mixed castes, then, do not reveal to us the origin of the profession-castes of modern India. How have these modern castes originated ? The Puranic Dharma Sastras will throw some light on the subject.

Kayasthas find no mention in Manu, because the practice of appointing scribes for every law court and public office did not generally prevail in the Buddhist Period. In the Puranic Period the scribes were already a numerous and influential body, attended judges in court, attested docu-

ments, and performed all the clerical work connected with the administration of law. Not unoften they were engaged in more ambitious duties, and were appointed by kings to administer finaces, raise taxes, keep the accounts of the State, and perform all the duties which devolve on a finance minister in the modern day. We read, in a dramatic work called the Mrichchhakati, that a Kayastha or record-keeper attended the judge in court; and Kahlana, in his history of Kashmir, frequently speaks of Kayasthas as accountants and tax-gatherers, and financiers under kings. They soon incurred the wrath of the priests for they raised their taxes from all, and exempted none, and we accordingly find that Kahlana himself condemns them in no measured terms. Passing over such pardonable ebullition of the priestly taxpayer's anger, we are grateful to learn, from passages in the works of the Puranic Period how the profession arose in India, and what its original duties were. It is probable that the class was recruited mainly from the people—the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas; Brahmans would scarcely condescend to take up such appointments, and Sudras had not the necessary qualification.[1] After the Moslem conquest, the profession was formed into an inviolable and distinct caste.

Yajnavalkya tells us (I, 1361), that the king should protect his people from deceivers, thieves, violent men, robbers, and others, and especially from Kayasthas. If we take the word

1. In this chapter and elsewhere we have stated that Kayasthas and Vaidyas are descended from the ancient Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. A controversy is going on since many years past, and reasons have been advanced to show that Kayasthas are Kshatriyas. We have not entered into the merits of this controversy, and we are unable to give an opinion on the subject. Our main contention is that the modern Kayasthas and Vaidyas are not Sudras, nor the product of a hybrid mixture of castes: that they are the sons of the ancient Aryan population of India, and have formed separate castes, because they have embraced separate profession. It is possible that Kayasthas have been mainly recruited from the Kshatriya stock, and that poor relation of kings gladly accepted the posts of accountants and record-keepers in the royal courts. We are informed that to the present day the period of impurity for Kayasthas in Northern India, on the death of relations, is the same as is prescribed for Kshatriya.

in its modern sense of caste, the passage has no sense, and the necessity for protection from a particular caste is not obvious. If, on the other hand, we take the word to mean rapacious tax-gatherers, we can well understand the feeling of the writer who classed them with thieves and robbers. Such compliments are paid to tax-gatherers to the present day. And it is significant that although Yajnavalkya speaks of the Kayasthas, he does not mention them in his list mixed castes. This fact demonstrates that the Kayasthas were only a profession, not a distinct caste, in the Puranic Age.

Our next quotation will be from Vishnu. In his celebrated chapter on documents, he classifies them under three heads, viz, (1) those attested by the king, answering to the registered documents of the present day ; (2) those attested by other witnesses ; and (3) those not attested at all. And the writer goes on to say that "a document is said to be attested by the king when it has been prepared in the king's office by the Kayastha appointed by the king, and marked by the hand (or signature) of the head of the office." Here, again, the word Kayastha has little sense if it means a particular caste. Dr. Jolly translates it simply as "scribe," and he is right. Kayasthas meant in the Puranic Period what we now mean by "Muharrars," and nothing more.

We next come to the Vaidyas or physicians, to whom the Dharma Sastras are scarcely more complimentary than to the Kayasthas. If scribes have been classed with thieves and robbers, physicians have been classed by Yajnavalkya with thieves, prostitutes, and others, whose food cannot be taken (I, 162). But what we wish to point out distinctly is that Yajnavalkya has not included Vaidyas in his list of mixed castes ; and this demonstrates that the Vaidyas were a profession, not a caste, in the Puranic Age. Upholders of the modern caste-system seek to identify Vaidyas with the Ambashthas of the ancient Sutra writers, and of Manu and Yajnavalkya. The Ambashthas are described by Vasishtha as a mixed caste, a cross between Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and by Manu and Yajnavalkya as a cross between Brahmans and Vaisyas. And Manu further adds that the Ambashthas

practised medicine (X, 47). On this slender ground, the modern Vaidyas are all identified with this mixed caste ;—as if the Aryan Hindus did not practise the healing art until amorous Brahman youths pursued and embraced girls of a humbler class,—as if science of medicine was unknown among Aryan Hindus until the production of a hybrid mixed caste ! The modern reader will brush aside such idle myths, and will unhesitatingly recognise the fact that the modern Vaidyas are descended from the ancient Aryan *people*, the Vaisyas, and have formed a separate caste, because they have followed a separate profession. And as in the case of Kayasthas, so in the case of Vaidyas, it is possible that descendants of royal Kshatriya races, like the Sena kings of Bengal, have become merged in the modern profession-caste.

But although the different professions were not formed into separate castes in the Puranic Age, yet, as we have seen in the case of Kayastha and Vaidyas, the different professions and trades came to be looked upon with disfavour. The caste-system, which unduly exalted the powers and privileges of priests, had the inevitable result of degrading all honest trades and industries other than that of priests. We noted this in the pages of Manu himself ; we note this still more prominently in the pages of Yajnavalkya. In a passage which we have referred to before (I, 160-165), he condemns a large class of professions as impure, and classes physicians, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, dyers, armourers, and oil manufacturers with thieves and prostitutes ! Thus the caste-system in its later phase has served a twofold object, as our readers, will note from passages like these. It has served to *divide the nation* and create mutual ill-feeling. And it has served to *degrade the nation* in order to exalt the priests.

CHAPTER IX

HINDU AND JAINA ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

WE have in a previous chapter spoken of Buddhist architecture in India. The history of Buddhist architecture closes with the fifth century, and there are few specimens of any importance after 500 A. D. On the other hand, Hindu temple architecture, judging from existing specimens, being at this date and continues down to long after the Mahommedan conquest of India. These facts, which are recorded on imperishable stone all over India, confirm and justify the division which we have made between the Buddhist Period and the later Hindu or Puranic Period.

NORTHERN INDIAN STYLE

The earliest specimens of Hindu temple architecture, then, date from 500 A.D., and these specimens are to be found in their purity, as well as in the greatest profusion, in Orissa. The student who has paid a visit to the town of Bhuvanesvara, in Orissa, knows more of Hindu temple architecture in its purity than pages of description are likely to teach him.

The North Indian style has some distinct and well-defined features, which are noticeable in all the earlier structures all over Northern India. The outline of the high tower of Vimana is curvilinear, and it is surmounted by what is called an *Amalaka*, from the name of a fruit which it is supposed to resemble. No trace of division into storeys is observable, and there are no pillars or pilasters anywhere. The porch, on the other hand, has a conical top with a series of cornices. The illustration in the next page will explain our remarks. Dr. Fergusson points out that the modern temples of Benares (and no existing Benares temple is over two centuries old) retain, in spite of modifications, the same characteristic features as the Vimanas of Orissa built twelve centuries ago.[1]

1. It is scarcely necessary to inform our readers that all the facts embodied in this chapter are from Dr. Fergusson's excellent and exhaustive work on the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

Several hundreds of temples are said to have been built in Bhuvanesvara, and numerous specimens still remain, and strike the beholder with astonishment. The most celebrated of them is what is called the Great Temple of Bhuvanesvara, and was built between 617 and 657 A. D. The original structure, consisting of the Vimana and the porch, was 160 feet in length ; the Nata Mandir and the Bhoga Mandir were added in the twelfth century. The interior of the Vimana is a square of 66 feet, and the tower rises to 180 feet. The whole edifice is of stone, and the exterior is covered with the most elaborate carving and sculpture work. Every individual stone has a pattern carved on it, and this wonderful carving is estimated to have cost three times as much as the erection of the building itself. "Most people would be of opinion that a building four times as large would produce a greater and more imposing effect ; but this is not the way a Hindu ever looked at the matter. Infinite labour bestowed on every detail was the mode in which he thought he could render his temple most worthy of the Deity ; and, whether he was right or wrong, the effect of the whole is certainly marvellously beautiful.....The sculpture is of a very high order and great beauty of design." (*Fergusson*, p. 442).

The far-famed "Black Pagoda" of Kanarak, of which the porch now alone remains, is supposed to have been built in 1241 A. D. ; but Dr. Fergusson maintains, with good reason, that it was built in 850 or 873 A.D. The floor is 40 feet square ; the roof slopes inward till it contracts to about 20 feet, where it is ceiled with one flat stone roof supported by wrought-iron beams 21 or 23 feet long, showing a knowledge of forging iron which has been lost to the Hindus since. The exterior is carved "with infinite beauty and variety on all their twelve faces, and the antefinœ at the angles, and bricks are used with an elegance and judgment a true Yavana could hardly have surpassed" (*Fergusson*, p. 428).

Next we come to the great temple of Jagannatha at Puri, after the Vaishnava faith had supplanted the Saiva religion as the prevailing creed of Orissa. It is not merely the change in the creed, but the degeneracy in the spirit of Hinduism that

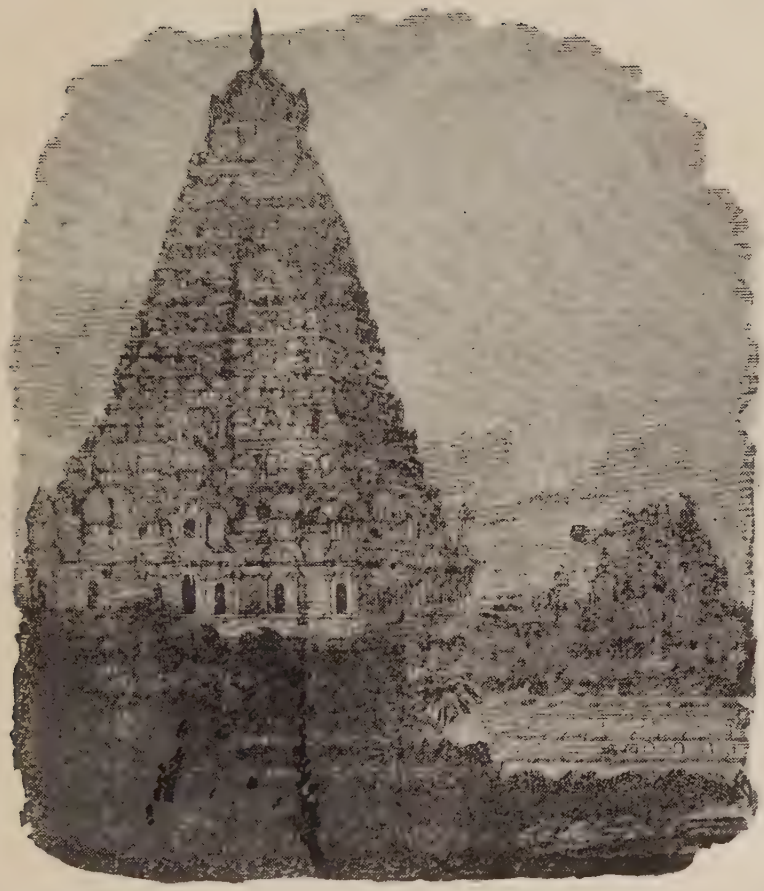
is stamped on this later edifice of 1174 A.D. "It is not, however, only in the detail, but the outline, the proportions, and every arrangement of the temple show that the art, in this province at least, had received a fatal downward impetus from which it never recovered" (*Fergusson* p. 430).

The Vimana of this temple is 85 feet across the centre, and rises to a height of 192 feet ; with the porch the total length is 155 feet ; while with the Nata Mandir and the Bhoga Mandir it is, like the Great Temple of Bhuvanesvara, 300 feet in length.

The province of Bundelkund is rich in ancient Hindu temples, richer than any other province in Northern India, except Orissa. Khajuraho in Bundelkund boasts of a group of some thirty great temples, nearly all of which belong to the century from 950 to 1050 A. D. ; the first century as our readers will remember, of Rajput supremacy succeeding to the dark age of political convulsions. An excellent woodcut given in Dr. Fergusson's work, of one of these temples, shows the modifications which the Orissa style had undergone. The one tall Vimana is surrounded by a number of smaller Vimanas, adjoining to it on all sides. The basement is high, and is surrounded by three rows of sculptured figures. General Cunningham counted 872 statues, mixed up with a profusion of vegetable forms and conventional details. The height of the temple is 116 feet, *i. e.*, 88 feet above its floor, and the outward appearance is elaborately ornate and rich.

In Bhopal territory there is a perfect example of a temple of the eleventh century. It was built by a king of Malwa in 1060 A.D. The Vimana is ornamented by four flat bands of great beauty and elegance, and the *Amalaka* surmounting it is also exquisite in design. The carving on the temple is marked throughout by precision and delicacy.

Pass we on to Rajputana. Among the celebrated ruins of Chittore we have seen the temples built by the queen of Kumbhu. Kumbhu was a great conquerer, and was a Jaina by faith, and erected the Jaina temple at Sadri and the marble pillar of victory at Chittore. His queen, Meera Bye, seems to have been an orthodox Hindu, and built two temples (1418-



THE GREAT PAGODA OF TANJORE

1468 A.D.), which are now in ruins, and overgrown with trees. The style both of the Vimana and of the porch is, of course, that of the Orissa temples. There is a colonnade round the temple, with four little pavilions at the four corners, and this is repeated in the portico.

There are specimens of ancient temples in the Maharashtra country, but neither so rich nor so numerous as in Orissa. The interest of the Mahratta temples consists in the fact that here the Orissa or North Indian style struggles with the Dravidian or South Indian style for supremacy. The Mahrattas are a people of the Dravidian race, but their early contact with the Aryans and assumption of Aryan civilisation inclined them to adopt the Aryan or North Indian style. Hence traces of both styles are observable in their structures.

While specimens of early temple architecture are thus numerous in Orissa, in Bundelkund, in Malwa, in Maharashtra, and in Rajputana, why are they so rare in the very home of the Indo-Aryans, in the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna ? The reply is obvious. In the twelfth century the Mahommedans conquered the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna, and not only demolished the old existing temples to raise mosques and minars with the stone, but effectually stopped the further progress of temple architecture. A vigorous progress in arts is not possible when political life is extinct ; and such feeble attempts as might otherwise have been witnessed were stopped by the bigoted conquerors. Hindu independence still lingered in Rajputana, Maharashtra, Malwa, Bundelkund, and Orissa ; and hence in those provinces we find older temples left uninjured, and later temples erected.

A great temple was built at Vrindavana by Man Sing, under the tolerant emperor Akbar ; but it is said the lofty spire of the temple offended the eyes of the very devout Aurangzebe, and the temple was knocked down. Every visitor to Vrindavana has seen what remains of this temple, which has to some extent been restored by the British Government.

Temple architecture still adhered, though with considerable modifications, to the old Orissa style, but adopted new designs

from the Saracenic style. We see this in the modern temples of Benares, in the temple of Visvesvara, for instance. The original Vimana of the Orissa temple is attenuated, and multiplied so as to form a number of small Vimanas round the central one ; and the porch. instead of having the conical roof of Orissa, has a dome of the Saracenic style, very elegant, but not in keeping with the style of the temple. In Bengal a new element of beauty was borrowed from the gracefully bent roofs of the ordinary thatched huts of the people. Temples built of stone are almost unknown in Bengal, but brick temples dedicated to Siva are built, with their cornices gracefully bent in imitation of thatched roofs, and the walls are sometimes covered with elaborated designs in terra-cotta. The pointed arches in these temples are borrowed from the Saracenic style, and altogether the modern Bengal temples of Siva are about as wide a departure from the original North Indian style as could well be imagined.

Jaina architecture in Nothern India adopted the Orissa type of Vimana, but in course of time resorted to the graceful Saracenic dome also. The practice of grouping temples is more largely resorted to by Jainas than by the followers of any other religion. Rich individuals, belonging to the middle classes, contribute temple after temple from century to century ; and while each individual temple lacks the grandeur of Hindu temples built by royal command, the collection of temples in course of time converts a hill-side or a sacred spot into a city of temples. Such are the temples of Palitana in Gujrat, some of which are as old as the eleventh century, and the latest of which have been constructed in the present century. The shrines in hundreds cover the summits of two extensive hills and the valley lying between, and the general effect of the entire collection of edifices is superb.

Girnar is a spot celebrated in Indian history. Asoka the Great carved a copy of his Edicts there, and kings of the Shah and the Gupta lines recorded their inscriptions. Groups of Jaina temples have been erected here since the tenth century, one of them by the brothers Tejpala and Bastupala, builders of one of the famous temples of Abu. Not far

from the hill of Girnar was the ancient temple of Somnath, destroyed by Mahmud of Guzni.

But the pride of Jaina architecture are the two unrivalled temples at Abu.[2] Alone among the temples of India, they are built entirely of white marble, which must have been quarried and taken from a distance of over 300 miles. One of these temples was built by Vimala Shah about 1032, and the other, as stated above, by the brothers Tejpala and Bastupala between 1197 and 1247. The porch is supported on elegant pillars exquisitely carved, and the inside of the dome is ornamented with elegant and exquisite designs unequalled in India.

SOUTHERN INDIAN STYLE

We now turn to the Southern Indian or Dravidian style, which is entirely distinct from the Northern style. Roughly speaking, the structures of the Peninsula south of the Krishna river are built in this style.

No connection between the Buddhist style and the style of the structural edifices in Northern India has been traced. The style of the earliest temples in Orissa shows no traces of the Buddhist style. The oldest of those temples are perfect structural edifices—perfect in their design and execution—and the history of the style can be traced no further backwards.

The Dravidian or Southern style, however, is shown to have grown out of the Buddhist style of excavation. The earliest existing specimens of Dravidian temples were excavated, not built. And in their latest developments, the Dravidian built edifices still bore marks of their origin.

Ellora is far to the north of the river Krishna. There can be little doubt, however, judging from the design and construction, that the edifices at Ellora belong to the Dravidian type. The temple of Kailasa was erected in the eighth

2 Abu is not far from the nearest railway station. The present writer visited the spot in 1883, proceeding by a winding path up the hill, sixteen miles in length. But another road less than half as long was under construction.

or ninth century, and the Dravidians of the south, the mighty Cholas, are supposed to have extended their conquests northward about this period, during the eclipse of the power of the Chalukyas. This explains the existence of this remarkable specimen of the Dravidian style so far to the north of the Krishna river.

An extensive pit 270 feet by 150 feet is excavated in the solid rock. In the centre of this rectangle stands the temple, with a Vimana 80 to 90 feet high, a large porch supported by sixteen columns, a detached porch connected by a bridge, and a Gopura or gateway. There are besides two dipadans or lamp-posts and cells all round. It is on the model of a complete structural temple, but carved out of solid rock ; and the monolithic of character of these vast edifices gives to them an air of solidity, strength, and grandeur which strikes all beholders. The cells all round are in imitation of Buddhist edifices, but each of the seven cells is devoted to a separate Hindu deity. The arrangement shows the Hindu style emerging out of the older Buddhist style.

When we turn from the rock-cut temples to the structural temples of Southern India, we are struck with the very recent dates which must be assigned to all the greatest and best among them. Temple architecture in the Southern style was carried on with remarkable vigour and assiduity in the south of Krishna river, during the long centuries when Northern India and even the Deccan were under the Musalman rule. And the temple builders of the south did not rest from their labours until the English and the French were struggling for mastery in the Carnatic in the last century ! One of the oldest of the great structural temples in the south is the Great Pagoda of Tanjore ; but no earlier date than the fourteenth century can be claimed for it, and it is supposed to have been built by a king of Conjeveram—the classic Kanchi. The perpendicular base is two storeys in height, and above this the construction tapers like a pyramid, rising in the thirteen storeys to the summit, which is crowned by a dome said to consist of one single massive stone. The total height is 190 feet, and the appearance of this magnificent structure is

elegant and graceful. Sufficiently removed in style from the rock-cut temples of Ellora, it nevertheless bears traces of the same design.

One of the most venerated and most ancient of the temples of Southern India is that of Chillambaram, on the sea-coast, a little to the north of the mouth of the Kaveri river. It was certainly commenced in the tenth or eleventh century, but the most imposing edifices of the temple have been built in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. To these centuries must be assigned the great Gopuras or gateways, the temple of Parvati, and the magnificent hall of 1000 columns. The porch of the temple of Parvati is remarkably elegant. The pillars of the hall of columns are arranged 24″ in front and 41″ in depth, and this "forest of granite pillars, each of a single stone, and all more or less carved and ornamented," produces a grandeur of effect.

The magnificent temple at Seringham, close to Tanjore, was built in the last century ; and indeed the progress of the building was stopped by its being occupied and fortified by the French in their ten years' struggle with the English for the possession of Trichinopoly. The fourteen or fifteen elaborately carved and ornamented gateways produce an imposing effect when viewed from a distance. But there is no central and superior structure rising above the rest, and this is a want common to nearly all the great temples of Southern India. They are all more or less collections of structures, bewildering in their richness and beauty, but the eye does not rest on any central imposing structure, as in the temples of Northern India.

Madura boasts of a great temple, commenced, it is said, in the sixteenth century, but the temple itself was built by Trimulla Nayak in the seventeenth century. It is a great rectangle, about 720 feet by 840 feet, possessing nine Gopuras and a hall of 1000 columns, whose sculptures and elaborate designs excel those of most other edifices of the class. Besides the temple, Madura also has a far-famed Choultrie, also built by the same Nayak for the reception of the presiding deity on the occasion of his visit of ten days to the

king. It is a great hall 333 feet by 105 feet, consisting of four ranges of columns, all of which are different, and most elaborately carved.

In one of that chain of islands which seem to connect India with Ceylon, stands the celebrated temples of Rameswaram, exhibiting all the beauties of the Dravidian style in their greatest perfection. Like the structures of Madura, this temple (with the exception of a humble and ancient Vimana) was built in the seventeenth century. Externally the temple is enclosed by a wall 868 feet by 672 feet and 20 feet high, with four great Gopuras on the four sides,—one of which alone has been finished. The glory of the temple, however, is in its carridors, extending to a total length of nearly 4000 feet. The breadth varies from 20 to 30 feet, and the height is 30 feet. "No engraving . . . can convey the impression produced by such a display of labour when extended to an uninterrupted length of 700 feet. None of our cathedrals are more than 500 feet, and even the nave of St. Peter's is only 600 feet from the door to the apse. Here the side corridors are 700 feet long, and open into transverse galleries as rich in detail as themselves. These, with the varied devices and modes of lighting, produce an effect that is not equalled certainly anywhere in India. . . . Here we have corridors extending to 4000 feet, carved on both sides, and in the hardest granite. It is the immensity of the labour here displayed that impresses us much more than its quality, and that, combined with a certain picturesqueness and mystery, produce an effect which is not surpassed by any other temple in India, and by very few elsewhere" (*Fergusson*, p. 358).

The classic town of Conjeveram or Kanchi posseses temples as picturesque and nearly as vast, as any that are found elsewhere. In Great Conjeveram there is the Great Temple, with some large Gopuras and a hall of 1000 columns fine Mantapas, and large tanks with flights of stairs.

Our readers will remember that the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara was the last great Hindu kingdom in Southern India, and maintained its independence for over two centuries,

from 1344 to 1565 A. D. Architecture flourished, together with learning and the study of the Vedas ; and there is hardly a town in all India in which ruins exist in such profusion as in this last seat of Hindu learning and glory.

The temple of Vitopa has an elegant and tasteful porch, wholly in granite, and carved with a boldness and power nowhere surpassed in buildings of this class. Numerous other edifices and temples of great beauty and extent attest to the power and activity of the Vijayanagara kings.

The master works of these kings, however, are not in the town, but in a place called Tarputry, about 100 miles to the south-east of Vijayanagara. Two Gopuras belonging to a now deserted temple stand there, one of them quite finished, and the other not carried beyond the perpendicular part. "The whole of the perpendicular part is covered with the most elaborate sculpture, cut with exquisite sharpness and precision in a fine close-grained hornblende stone, and produces an effect richer, and on the whole, perhaps, in better taste than anywhere else in this style" (*Fergusson*, p. 375).

Turning now to the architecture of the Southern Jainas, we find that they generally adopted the Dravidian style, as the Northern Jainas adopted the Orissa style. On the Chandragiri hill there is a group of fifteen temples. Inside each temple is a court surrounded by cloisters, at the back of which rises the Vimana over the cell containing the principal image of the Tirthankara.

Besides the temples, the Southern Jainas have in some places erected colossal statues such as are wholly unknown in the north. They are said to be statues of a Gomata Raja, and it is supposed that some vague recollections of Gautama Buddha as a prince or raja have given rise to the construction of these images. One of them at Sravana Belgula attracted the attention of the Duke of Wellington, then Sir A. Wellesley, when he commanded a division at the siege of Seringapatam. It is a statue 70 feet 3 inches in height, hewn, it is supposed, out of a solid hill which formerly stood there. "Nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height" (*Fergusson*, p. 268).

DECCAN STYLE

We have spoken of two distinct styles of Hindu architecture, one the Orissa or Northern Indian slyle, prevailing in the country north of the Vindhya mountains, and the other the Dravidian or Southern Indian style, prevailing in the country south of the Krishna river. There is a third style, however, which Dr. Fergusson calls the Chalukyan style, and which prevails between the Vindhya range and the Krishna river, *i. e.*, in the country now known as the Deccan. The style has not been thoroughly studied yet, as the Nizam's dominions are comparatively speaking yet unexplored ; and it is probable, too, that few ancient Hindu monuments have there survived the uninterrupted reign of Musalmans during several centuries. The best examples of that style yet known are preserved in the province of Mysore, which, though south of the Krishna, developed the Chalukyan style.

The peculiar feature of this style is that the temples have a polygonical or star-shaped base ; the walls rise perpendicular to some height, and then the roof is pyramidical, tapering to a point.

Our readers will remember that the Ballalas ruled supreme in Mysore and the Carnatic from about 1000 A. D. to 1310 A. D., and three remarkable groups of temples were erected by this great dynasty. The first one, at Somnathpur, was built by Vinaditya Ballala who ascended the throne in 1043. The height of this temple is only 30 feet, but it is characterised by a remarkable elegance of outline and elaboration of detail. The second, at Baillur, was erected by Vishnu Vardhana about 1114, and consists of a principal temple surrounded by four or five others, and numerous subordinate buildings, enclosed by a high wall, with two fine Gopuras. The richness and variety of pattern displayed in the twenty-eight windows are remarkable ; and the richly carved base on which they rest is still more so. The third and last group of temples of the Ballala kings is at Hullabid. A temple here, called Kaet Isvara, was probably erected by Vijaya, the fifth king of the dynasty. "From the basement to the summit it is covered with sculptures of the very best class of Indian art, and these

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF BHUVANESVARA

so arranged as not materially to interfere with the outlines of the building, while they impart to it an amount of richness only to be found among specimens of Hindu art. If it were possible to illustrate this temple in anything like completeness there is probably nothing in India which would convey a better idea of what its architects were capable of accomplishing" (*Fergusson*, p. 397).

The temple of Kaet Isvara is, however, surpassed in magnificence by its neighbour, the great double temple at Hullabid. Had this double temple been completed, it is one of the buildings on which, as Dr. Fergusson puts it, the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand. Unfortunately the work was never completed, having been stopped by the Mahommedan conquest in 1310 A.D., after it had been in progress for eighty-six years.

"It is of course impossible to illustrate completely so complicated and so varied a design,.....The building stands on a terrace ranging from 5 feet to 6 feet in height, and paved with large slabs. On this stands a frieze of elephants, following all the sinuosities of the plan, and extending to some 710 feet in length, and containing not less than 2000 elephants, most of them with the riders and trappings sculptured as only an Oriental can represent the wisest of brutes. Above these there is a frieze of "Shardulas," or conventional lions, the emblems of the Hoisala Ballalas who built the temple. Then comes a scroll of infinite beauty and variety of design ; over these a frieze of horsemen and another scroll, over which is a bas-relief of scenes from the Ramayana, representing the conquest of Ceylon and all the varied incidents of the epic. This, like the other, is 700 feet long.....Then come celestial beasts and celestial birds, and all along the east front a frieze of groups from human life, and than a cornice with a rail divided into paneals, each containing two figures. Over these are windows of pierced slabs, like those of Baillur, though not so rich or varied ... In the centre, in place of the windows, is first a scroll, and then a frieze of gods and heavenly Apsaras, dancing girls, and other objects of Hindu mythology. This frieze, which is about 5 feet 6 inches in

height, is continued all round the western front of the building, and extends to some 400 feet in length. Siva, with his consort Parvati seated on his knee, is repeated at least fourteen times. Vishnu in his nine Avatars, even oftener. Brahma occurs three or four times, and every god of the Hindu Pantheon finds his place. Some of these are carved with a minute elaboration of detail which can only be reproduced by photography, and may probably be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East" (*Fergusson*, p. 401).

We have made this long extract form Dr. Fergusson's work to give our readers an idea of the sculptures and elaborate carving of which we have spoken so often in describing almost every temple and Vimana, porch and Gopura. A Hindu temple is nothing if not profusely ornate and elaborately carved ; and that wonderful and endless carving and sculpture work covers every religious edifice in India, from Orissa and Rajputana to Mysore and Ramesseram. We will now conclude this chapter with some thoughtful observations which the elaborate carving of the Hullabid temple suggests to our author, whom we have so often quoted in this chapter.

"If it were possible to illustrate the Hullabid temple to such an extent as to render its peculiarities familiar, there would be few things more interesting or more instructive than to institute a comparison between it and the Parthenon at Athens. Not that the two buildings are at all like one another ; on the contrary, they form the two opposite poles, the alpha and omega of architectural design ; but they are the best examples of their class, and between these two extremes lies the whole range of the art.

"The Parthenon is the best example we know of pure refined intellectual power applied to the production of an architectural design. Every part and every effect is calculated with mathematical exactness, and executed with a mechanical precision that never was equalled ... The sculpture is exquisitely designed to aid the perfection of the masonry, severe and god-like, but with no condescension to the lower feelings of humanity.

"The Hullabid temple is the opposite of all this. It is regular, but with a studied variety of outline in plan and even greater variety in detail. All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facts of the Indian temple are the same ; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning every mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on these walls ; but of pure intellect there is little, less than there is of human feeling in the Parthenon.

"For our purpose, the great value of the study of these Indian examples is that it widens so immensely our basis for architectural criticism. It is only by becoming familiar with forms so utterly dissimilar from those we have hitherto been conversant with, that we perceive how narrow is the purview that is content with one form or one passing fashion. By rising to this wider range, we shall perceive that architecture is as many-sided as human nature itself, and learn how few feelings and how few aspirations of the human heart and brain there are that cannot be expressed by its means." (*Fergusson*, p. 403).

These thoughtful and philosophical observations on architecture naturally suggest some reflections to the student of history. Why is it that the architecture of India displays what Dr. Fergusson calls a lack of "pure intellect ?" Why it is, again that the same architecture displays such a joyous exuberance of fancy and "pure feelings"—such an uncontrollable desire to represent on religious edifices the teeming millions of living creatures, with all their humble feelings and hopes and fears, their every-day occupation, their wars and triumphs, their toil and their sorrows, and even their sins ?

The first question is easily answered. There was no lack of "pure intellect" in the land of Kapila and Kalidasa, but there was a disinclination, unfortunately, among the upper classes to apply themselves to vocations requiring manual exertion. And when the caste-system was once fully formed, this disinclination to physical exertion became a part of the social rules for

the upper castes. It was impossible that the thinking population, the Kshatriyas and the Brahmans, should apply themselves to carving and sculpture, and intellect of the higher order was thus divorced for ever from these fine arts. The artisan classes possessed that wonderful skill in decorative art which characterises the Hindus in all branches of industry, and they acquired that facility in workmanship which the experience of centuries teaches. No labour was too gigantic for them to attempt ; no design was too minute or elaborate for them to accomplish. But, nevertheless, to the very close of the Hindu period they remained artisans—generations of skilled workers, and nothing more. The wonderful edifices with which they have covered India, under the bidding of the priest or the king, are remarkable, more for the gigantic labour and the minute and endless elaboration which they display, than for any lofty intellectual conception, any design of a creative mind. And among the thousands of graceful, pleasing, and natural figures and facts of men and women, which simple observation of nature taught the artisans to copy in stone in every temple and porch, we shall in vain seek for that high order of intellectual conception which marks the marbles of Greece and Rome. A Phœdias and a Michael Angelo were impossible in India.

For a reply to the second inquiry, we must seek for deeper causes. Not only in the temples of Greece, but in the churches of mediæval and modern Europe, religious designs and subjects have been thought appropriate for religious edifices. Painted windows, representing scenes from the life of Christ and other holy subjects, beautify the churches of Protestant nations ; and marble images of the Virgin and the Child, of saints and of holy persons, decorate and fill Catholic cathedrals. In India the countless temples of gods are sculptured, not only with the images of gods and goddesses, but with a representation of the whole universe, animate and inanimate ; of men and women in their daily occupations, their wars, triumphs, and processions ; of aerial and imaginary beings, Gandharvas and Apsaras, and dancing girls ; of horses, snakes, birds, elephants, and lions ; of trees and creepers of various kinds ; of all that the sculptor could think of and his art could depict.

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To the Hindu the problem suggests its own solution. The idea of religion in Europe is connected with the glory of God and the teachings of Christ, with sermons in churches and pious acts. To the Hindu, his whole life in all its minute acts is a part of his religion. Not only moral precepts, but the rules of social and domestic life of eating and drinking and behaviour to fellow-men and fellow-creatures, are a part of his religion. It is his religion which teaches the warrior to fight, the learned man to prosecute his studies and contemplation, the artisan to ply his trade. and all men to regulate their conduct towards each other. The very conception of *Brahman* in the Upanishads, and in all later religious writings, is the all-embracing universe ; all is an emanation from Him ; all returns to Him. The very significance of the word *Dharma* in the ancient Dharma Sastras, is not religion in the modern sense of the word, but the totality of human duties and of human life in all its occupations, pursuits, and daily actions. Dharma regulates studies, occupations, and trades. Dharma regulates eating and drinking and the enjoyments of life. Dharma lays down civil and criminal law and the rules of inheritance. Dharma rules men and the animal and vegetable kingdoms below, and saints and gods above. So comprehensive is this term, that it denotes even the qualities of inanimate objects ; it is the Dharma of the fire to burn, of trees to grow, of water to seek the lowest level. And though the modern Hindu is far removed in ideas from his ancestors, yet even to this day the whole life of an orthodox and religious Hindu is controlled by rules and sanctions which he calls his Dharma, rules regulating every act and every word in political, social, and domestic life. The distinction between the sacred and the secular is foreign to the spirit of Hinduism. Every rule of conduct is a part of Dharma.

Such being the absorbing notion of religion among the Hindus, they endeavoured to represent this idea in their architecture and sculpture. Nothing was excluded from the sacred precincts of temples, not even the humblest occupation of the daily labourer, not even sorrows, sufferings, and sins. The universe has emanated from the Deity to whom the archi-

tects dedicated their temples, and, as far as their humble skill and untiring industry permitted, they sought to represent the universe on those temples. The proud and the lowly, the rational and irrational, the animate and the inanimate, yet the whole world with its joys and sorrows, are comprehended in the notion of Hindu religion ; and the Hindu sought to realise that all embracing notion, and to depict the universe on the imperishable monuments of his industry and his faith !

CHAPTER X

ASTRONOMY, ALGEBRA AND ARITHMETIC

COLEBROOKE was the first European writer who thoroughly inquired into the subject of Hindu algebra, arithmetic, and astronomy; and no more careful or impartial writer has written since on the subject, though it has been repeatedly discussed by later scholars. We make no apology, therefore, in quoting some remarks which Colebrooke recorded over seventy years ago on Hindu algebra.

"The Hindus had certainly made distinguished progress in the science so early as the century immediately following that in which the Grecians taught the rudiments of it. The Hindus had the benefit of a good arithmetical notation; the Greeks the disadvantage of a bad one. Nearly allied as algebra is to arithmetic, the invention of the algebraic calculas was more easy and natural where arithmetic was best handled. No such marked identity of the Hindu and Diophantine systems is observed as to demonstrate communication. They are sufficiently distinct to justify the presumption that both might be invented independently of each other.

"If, however, it be insisted that a hint or suggestion, the seed of their knowledge, may have reached the Hindu mathematicians immediately from the Greeks of Alexandria or mediately through those of Bactria, it must, at the same time, be confessed that a slender germ grew and fructified rapidly, and soon attained an approved state of maturity in Indian soil"[1]

Equally worthy of our consideration are the same author's remarks on Hindu astronomy. "The Hindus had undoubtedly made some progress at an early period in the astronomy cultivated by them for the regulation of time. Their calendar, both civil and religious, was governed chiefly, not exclusively by the moon and sun; and the motions of these luminaries

1. *Algebra, &c., from the Sanskrit.* London, 1817, p, xxii.

were carefully observed by them ; and with such success, that their determination of the moon's synodical revolution, which was what they were principally concerned with, is a much more correct one than the Greeks ever achieved. They had a division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts,[2] suggested evidently by the moon's period in days ; and seemingly their own ; it was certainly borrowed by the Arabians. Being led to the observation of the fixed stars, they obtained a knowledge of the position of the most remarkable ; and notice for religious purposes, and from superstitious notions, the heliacal rising with other phenomena of a few. The adoration of the sun, of the planets, and of the stars, in common with the worship of the elements, had a principal place in their religious observances enjoyed by the *Vedas* ; and they were led constantly by piety to watch the heavenly bodies. They were particularly conversant with the most splendid of the primary planets, the period of Jupiter being introduced by them, in conjunction with those of the sun and moon, into the regulation of their calendar, sacred and civil, in the form of the celebrated cycle of sixty years."[3]

While Hindu astronomy is as old as the Vedas, there can be little doubt that after the Christian Era the science received much development from Greek sources. We have seen in the last Book that the *Siddhantas* of the Buddhist Age were greatly indebted to Greek astronomy.

The Solar Zidiac, for instance, adopted by the Hindus, was undoubtedly of Greek origin. This Hindu "division of the zodiac into twelve signs, represented by the same figures of animals, and named by words of the same import with the zodiacal signs of the Greek," leaves little doubt that the Hindus after the Christian Era "received hints from the astronomical schools of the Greeks."[4]

Aryabhatta is the first Hindu writer on algebra aud astronomy in the Puranic Age. He was born, as he tells us himself

2. This Lunar Zodiac was fixed, as we have seen before, in the Epic Period, about 1200 B.C.

3. *Hindu Algebra, &c.*, p. xxii. *et seq.*

4. *Hindu Algebra, &c.*, p. xxiv.

in A.D. 476. He wrote the Aryabhattiya, consisting of the Gitikapada, the Ganitapada, the Kalakriyapada, and the Golapada.

The work has now been edited by Dr. Kern, and in this work the astronomer boldly maintains the theory of the revolution of the earth on its own axis, and the true cause of solar and lunar eclipses. "As a person in a vessel, while moving forward," says Aryabhatta, "sees an immovable object moving backward, in the same manner do the stars, though immovable seem to move daily." Aryabhatta's explanation of the eclipses seems to have been generally known to his contemporaries, for we find Kalidasa in his Raghuvansa (XIV, 40) weaving the astronomical discovery into one of his apt similes, and stating "what in reality is only the shadow of the earth is regarded by the people as an impurity of the pure moon." In his Golapada, Aryabhatta gives us the names of the twelve divisions of the Solar Zodiac. Aryabhatta's calculation of the earth's circumference (3300 Yojanas of four Krosas each) is not wide of the mark.

Aryabhatta was born in Pataliputra, the ancient capital of Asoka the Great, and wrote early in the sixth century. The revival of learning in that century was not confined to Ujjayini, although that city carried away the palm under the auspices of the illustrious Vikramaditya.

Aryabhatta's successor, Varahamihira, was a true born son of Avanti. He was born in Avanti, and was the son of Aditya Dasa, himself an astronomer. The Ujjayini list compiled by Dr. Hunter, as well as Alberuni, give A. D. 505, as Varahamihira's date, and it is probable that this was the date of his birth. We have already stated before that he was one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama's court, and it has been ascertained by Dr. Bhao Daji that the astronomer died in 587 A.D.

He compiled in his famous Panchasiddhantika five older Siddhantas, viz., Paulisa, Romaka, Vasishtha, Saura, and Paitamaha. We have spoken of these Siddhantas in the last Book.

Varahamihira is also the author of Brihat Sanhita, which

has been edited by Dr. Kern. It is a work consisting of no less than 106 chapters, dealing with various subjects. The first twenty chapters relate to the sun, moon, earth, and planets ; chapters 21 to 39 deal with rain, winds, earthquakes, meteors, rainbow, dust-storms, thunderbolts, &c. ; chapters 40 to 42 treat of plants and vegetables, and commodities which are available in different seasons ; chapters 43 to 60 speak of various miscellaneous matters, including portents, house-building, gardening, temples, images, &c. ; chapters 61 to 78 deal with various animals, and with men and women, &c. ; chapters 79 to 85 treat of precious stones, furniture, &c. ; chapters 86 to 96 treat of various omens ; and chapters 97 to 106, of various matters, including marriages, the divisions of the zodiac, &c.

The above enumeration of contents carries no adequate idea of the encyclopædic nature of this great work. The amount of general information which it contains, apart from its merit as an astronomical work, is of the utmost value to the historian. Thus, chapter 14 is a complete geography of India of the sixth century, and mentions the names of numerous provinces and towns. Chapters 41 and 42 contain an enumeration of a vast number of commodities, vegetable and manufactured, which is of the utmost value for a detailed examination of the civilisation of the age. So chapters 61 to 67 speak of various animals, and chapters 79 to 85 of various articles from a diamond to a toothbrush ! Chapter 58 is of special interest to us, because it lays down rules for the construction of various images, viz., Rama, Bali, Vishnu with 8 or 4 or 2 hands, Baladeva, a goddess between Krishna and Baladeva, Samba, Brahma with four faces, Indra, Siva and his consort, Buddha, the god of the Arhats (Buddhist saints), the Sun, the Linga. Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, and Ganesa with his elephant head. And in chapter 60 we are told that Bhagavatas worship Vishnu, the Magas worship the Sun, and the twice-born, smeared with ashes, worship Siva ; the Matris are worshipped by those who know them, and Brahmans worship Brahma. The Sakyas and the naked Jainas worship the all-benevolent and calm-souled god (Buddha). "Each sect should worship,

according to its peculiar rules, the deity whom it worships." These passages attest the toleration of the sixth century A.D. ; a Hindu after the time of Sankaracharya would not thus enumerate the "all-benevolent" and "calm-souled" Buddha in the list of deities.

In the following century Brahmagupta wrote (in 628 A. D.) his Brahma Sphuta Siddhanta. The work comprises twenty-one chapters. The first ten contain an astronomical system, describing the true places of the planets, the calculation of lunar and solar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, the conjuctions of planets and stars, &c. The next ten chapters are supplementary ; and the last chapter explains the astronomical system in a treatise on spherics. The twelfth and eighteenth chapters have been translated by Colebrooke.

After Brahmagupta came the long period of the dark age and political convulsions. When these ended in the establishment of Rajput power in India, another great mathematician arose. The renowned Bhaskarachrya was born, as he tells us, in 1114 A.D., and completed his great work known as the Siddhanta Siromani in 1150 A. D. The preliminary portions of this work are the Vijaganita (algebra) and the Lilavati (arithmetic), and have been translated by Colebrooke ; and the Goladhyaya portion on spherical trigonometry has been translated by Wilkinson and revised by the renowned mathematician, Pundit Bapudeva Sastri.

There are solutions of remarkable problems in Bhaskaracharya which were not achieved in Europe till the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[5] The science of algebra indeed

5. A striking history has been told of the problem, to find x, so that $ax2+b$ shall be a square number. Fremat made some progress towards solving this ancient problem, and sent it as a defiance to the English algebraists in the seventeenth century. Euler finally solved it, and arrived exactly at the point attained by Bhaskara in 1150 ! A particular solution of another problem given by Bhaskara is exactly the same as was discovered in Europe by Lord Brounker in 1657 ; and the general solution of the same problem given by Brahmagupta in the seventh century A. D. was unsuccessfully attempted by Euler, and was only accomplished by De la Grange in 1767 A.D. The favourite process of the Hindu known as the *Kuttaka* was not known in Europe till published by Bachet de Mezeriac in 1624 A.D.

received a remarkable degree of development in India ; the application of algebra to astronomical investigations and to geometrical demonstrations is a peculiar invention of the Hindus ; and their manner of conducting it has received the admiration of modern European mathematicians.

While such was the progress made in India in astronomy, algebra, and arithmetic, the science of geometry was lost ! The Hindus have discovered the first elementary laws of geometry in the eighth century before Christ, and imparted it to the Greeks ; but as the construction of altars according to geometrical rules fell into disuse, geometry was neglected, and geometrical problems were solved by algebra.

Arabian writers translated Hindu works on algebra in the eighth century A. D., and Leonardo of Pisa first introduced the science into modern Europe. In trigonometry, too, the Hindus seem to have been the earliest teachers in the world ; and in arithmetic they invented that system of decimal notation which the Arabians borrowed from them and thought in Europe, and which is now the property of the human race.

CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE

THE Hindu medical science unfortunately received less attention from the earlier antiquarians than the other Indian sciences, and the facts collected even up to the present date are not nearly exhaustive. As early as 1823, Professor H. H. Wilson published in the *Oriental Magazine* a brief notice of Hindu medicines and medical works. The indefatigable traveller and devoted scholar Csoma de Koros gave a sketch of Hindu medical opinions as translated into the Tibetan language in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for January 1835. Heyne and Ainslie also collected much information on the subject of Hindu medicines. And in 1837, Dr. Royle, of the King's College, London, combined all the information available from the above works, with many original researches of his own, in his celebrated essay on the antiquity of Hindu medicine. Our distinguished countryman, Madhusudan Gupta, who first broke through modern prejudices against dissectionr, and was Lecturer of Anatomy to the Medical College of Calcutta, edited the ancient work on Hindu surgery known as Susruta, and proved that the ancients had no silly prejudices against the pursuit of science in a scientific way. Dr. Wise, late of the Bengal Medical Service, published in 1845 a commentary on the ancient Hindu system of medicine ; and later on he treated the subject ably and fully in his Review of the History of Medicine published in London in 1867. The subject has received more attention from our countrymen since this date, and the patriotic physician, Abinas Chandra Kaviratna, is now editing valuable editions of Charaka and Susruta with commentaries.

In Europe the antiquity of Hindu medicine is not yet generally known and recognised, and the habit of tracing the origin of all Aryan culture to the Greeks still impedes an impartial inquiry. As Dr. Wise justly remarks, "Facts regarding the ancient history of medicine have been sought for only

in the classical authors of Greece and Rome, and have been arranged to suit a traditional theory which repudiated all systems which did not proceed from a Grecian source. We are familiar from our youth with classical history, and love to recall events illustrated by the torch of genius and depicted on our memories ; and it requires a thorough examination of a subject, a careful weighing of new evidence, and a degree of ingenuousness not always to be found, to alter early impressions. Still candour and truth require us to examine the value of new facts in history as they are discovered, so as to arrive at just conclusions."[1]

The Greeks themselves did not lay claim to the honour (which is now often claimed for them by modern writers) of orginating ancient culture generally, or the science of medicine in particular. Nearchus (*apud* Arrian) informs us that "the Grecian physicians found no remedy against the bite of snakes, but the Indians cured those who happened to incur that misfortune." Arrian himself tells us that the Greeks "when indisposed applied to their sophists (Brahmans), who, by wonderful, and even more than human means, cured whatever would admit of cure." Dioscorides, who lived in the first century A.D., is the most copious author on the Materia Medica of the ancients, and Dr. Royle has in an exhaustive inquiry shown how much of his Materia Medica was taken from the more ancient Materia Medica of the Hindus.[2] The same remark holds good with regard to Theophrasus, who lived in the third century B.C., while even the physician Ctesias, who lived in the fifth century B.C., wrote an account of India which, Dr. H. H. Wilson has shown,[3] contains notices of the natural products of India. But the chain of evidence is complete when Hippocrates, called the "Father of Medicine," because he first cultivated the subject as a science in Europe, is shown to have borrowed his Materia Medica from the Hindus. We refer our readers for evidence to Dr. Royle's

1. *Review of the History of Medicine, Introduction.*
2. *Antiquity of Hindu Medicine*, pp. 82 to 104.
3. In a paper read to the Ashmolean Society of Oxford.

excellent essay. "It is to the Hindus," says Dr. Wise, "we owe the first system of medicine."

Unfortunately, of the earliest system of Hindu Medicine, which was cultivated from the time of the Kurus and the Panchalas to the age when all Hindu learning received a scientific treatment (B.C. 1400 to 400), very little has been left to us. Ancient medical science is generally spoken of in later treatises as the *Ayurveda*. The word probably never meant any particular treatise or work, but was a collective name for ancient medical science, as the *Dhanurveda* is a collective name for the ancient science for archery and arms. The ancient Ayurveda or medical science is said to have been divided into the following sections or branches, which we take from Dr. Wilson's analysis :—

(1) *Salya*, the art of extracting extraneous substances, like arrows, wood, earth, &c., with the treatment of the inflammation and suppuration thereby induced ; and by analogy, the cure of all phlegmonoid tumours and abscesses.

(2) *Salakya*, the treatment of external organic affections, or diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, &c. The word is derived from *Salaka*, a thin sharp instrument, which must have been in use from ancient times.

(3) *Kaya Chikitsa*, the treatment of the body answering to the modern science of medicine, while the two preceding sections constitute surgery.

(4) *Bhuta vidya*, or the restoration of the faculties from a disorganised state supposed to be induced by demoniacal possession.

(5) *Kumara bhritya*, *i.e.* the care of infancy, comprehending the management of infants and the treatment of disorders in mothers and nurses.

(6) *Aagda*, the administration of antidotes.

(7) *Rasayana*, or chemistry.

(8) *Bajikarana*, professing to promote the increase of the human race.

Medical science, like all other sciences, made considerable progress in course of time, and exhaustive and scientific works are written in the Buddhist Age. But nevertheless, with that

loyalty to the past which has ever characterised Hindu writers the authors of these later works alluded reverently to the earlier science under the collective name of Ayurveda, the gift of the gods, and professed only to explain that ancient knowledge and wisdom to the last favoured men of later ages. Among these later and more scientific works those of Charaka and Susruta are the best known, and their works are now the most ancient works extant. There are reasons to believe that these eminent authors lived in the Buddhist Age, but that their works were recast in the Puranic Age, when there was a general revival of Hindu learning and science. The fame of their works travelled into foreign countries, and the Arabs were acquainted with the translations of the works at the time of Harounal-Rashid in the eighth century. One of the earliest of the Arab authors, Serapion mentions Charaka by name as *Xarch*. Another Arab writer, Avicenna, quotes him as *Scirak* ; while Rhazes, who was prior to Avicenna, calls him *Scarac*.[6] It was thus that Hindu medical works, compiled as early as the Buddhist Age, were first published to the world by the Arabs in the Puranic Age.

Charaka's work is divided into eight books, which are enumerated below.

(1) *Sutra Sthana*, explaining the origin of medicine, the duty of the physician, the use of medicine, the cure of disease, materia medica, diet, &c.

(2) *Nidana Sthana*, containing a description of diseases, as fever, discharges of blood, tumours, diabetes, leprosy, consumption, mania and epilepsy.

(3) *Vimana Sthana*, treating of epidemics, the nature of food, the symptoms and diagnosis of disease, the use of medicines. and the peculiarities of the fluids of the body.

(4) *Sarira Sthana*, treating of the nature of the soul, conception, the varieties of species, the qualities of elements, a description of the body and the connection of the body and soul.

(5.) *Indriya Sthana*, describing the organs of sense and

6. Royle, p. 37.

their diseases, the colour of the body, defects of speech, diseases of the body and of organs, loss of strength and death.

(6) *Chikitsa Sthana*, considering the treatment of disease and the means of improving the health and enjoying long life. It also treats of fever, dropsy, swelling, piles, diarrhœa, jaundice, asthma, cough, dysentery, vomiting, erysipelas, thirst and the effects of poisons. It speaks of remedying the effects of drinking, of inflammation, diseases of vital parts, abscesses, rheumatism and paralysis.

(7) *Kalpa Sthana*, treating of emetics and purgatives, and of antidotes and medical charms.

(8) *Siddhi Sthana*, treating of evacuating medicines, of injections for the urethra, vagina, and rectum, of abscesses, of the use of clysters, of the vital parts, &c.

The whole work is in the form of instruction imparted by the Rishi Atreya to Agnivasa. We are told in the introduction that Brahma first imparted the Ayurveda to the Prajapati, that Prajapati imparted it to the two Asvins, and the Asvins imparted it to Indra. Bharadvaja learnt it from Indra, and imparted it to six Rishis, of whom Agnivasa was one.

Susruta is probably a later work than Charaka, and a similar story is told that Indra imparted the knowledge to Dhanvantari, the medical practitioner of the gods, and Dhanvantari imparted it to eight Rishis, among whom Susruta was chosen to record the instructions correctly.

The divisions of Susruta's work are very similar to those of Charaka. Charaka, however, treats mainly of medicines, while Susruta treats mainly of surgery in his six divisions, which are enumerated below.

(1) *Sutra Sthana* treats of medicines, of the elements of the body and various forms of disease, of the selection of surgical instruments and medicines, and of the practice to be followed after surgical operations. Then follows the description of the humours and the surgical diseases, the removal of extraneous substances, and the treatment of wounds and ulcers. Various other matters are touched upon.

(2) *Nidana Sthana* treats of the symptoms and diagnoses

of diseases. The causes of rheumatism, piles, stone, fistula in ano, leprosy, diabetes, and ascites are spoken of. The symptoms of unnatural presentations in midwifery, internal abscesses, erysipelas, scrofula, hydrocele, and diseases of the organs of generation and of the mouth are considered.

(5) *Sarira Sthana* or anatomy, treats of the structure of the body. The soul and the elementary parts of the body, puberty, conception, and growth of the body are considered. Bleeding and the treatment of pregnancy and of infants are also considered.

(4) *Chikitsa Sthana* describes the symptoms and treatment of diseases, wounds, ulcers, inflammations, fractures, rheumatism, piles, stone, fistula in ano, leprosy, diabetes, and dropsy. The manner of extracting the child from the uterus in unusual positions and other matters are described. The use of clysters, of errhines, and of the smoke of medicinal substances is also described.

(5) *Kalpa Sthana* speaks of antidotes. The means of preparing and preserving food and drink, and of distinguishing poisoned food and explained, and the different mineral, vegetable, and animal poisons and their antidotes are explained.

(6) *Uttara Sthana,* or supplemental section, treats of various local diseases, like those of the eye, ear, nose, and head. The treatment of various other diseases, like fever, dysentery, consumption, tumours, diseases of the heart, jaundice, discharges of blood, fainting, intoxication, cough, hiccough, asthma, hoarseness of voice, worms, stertorous, vomiting, cholera, dyspepsia, dysuria, madness, demoniacal possession, epilepsy and apoplexy, are described.

The above brief enumeration of the contents Charaka and Susruta will indicate the progress of the Hindu medical science and the nature of the diseases which engaged the attention of Hindu physicians in ancient days. Many of the ancient theories are of course now shown to be fanciful, and many of the views then held are now shown to be mistaken. But nevertheless the exhaustive treatment of diseases in medical works compiled two thousand years ago

shows the progress of the science in Ancient India ; and the medicines and preparations prescribed in these works are equally numerous and varied. It is not our intention to give anything like a complete account of the Hindu system of medicine and treatment of diseases ; we will only here mention a few of the medicinal preparations and surgical instruments which were known to the ancient Hindus.

The Hindus were early familiar with *Rasayana, i. e.*, chemistry, and with the preparation of various chemical compounds. Nor is this surprising, as the materials for preparing many chemical products have abounded in India. Rock-salt was found in Western India ; borax was obtained from Tibet ; saltpetre and sulphate of soda were easily made ; alum was made in Cutch ; and sal ammonia was familiar to the Hindus ; with lime, charcoal, and sulphur they were acquainted from time immemorial.

The alkalies and acids were early known to the Hindus, and were borrowed from them by the Arabians. The medicinal use of metals was also largely known. We have notices of antimony and of arsenic, of medicines prepared with quick-silver, arsenic, and nine other metals. The Hindus were acquainted with the oxides of copper, iron, lead, tin, zinc, and lead ; with the sulphurates of iron, copper, antimony, mercury, and arsenic ; with the sulphates of copper, zinc, and iron ; with the diacetate of copper and the carbonates of lead and iron. "Though the ancient Greeks and Romans used many metallic substances as external applications, it is generally supposed that the Arabs were the first to prescribe them internally.....But in the works of Charak and Susruta, to which, as has been proved, the earliest of the Arabs had access, we find numerous metallic substances directed to be given internally."[5]

From positive directions respecting the formation of several substances, it is clear that the ancient Hindus were familiar with several chemical processes, as solution, evaporation, calcination, sublimation, and distillation.

5. Dr. Royle's Essay, p. 45.

With regard to drugs and plants, we find that Susruta arranges them under the following heads :—tuberous and bulbous roots ; roots ; bark of roots ; bark of large trees ; trees possessing a peculiar smell ; leaves ; flowers ; fruits ; seeds ; acrid and astringent vegetables ; milky plants ; gums and resins. Susruta probably contains the earliest notice respecting botanical geography, mentioning the sites and climates where the plants grow. He also prescribes the weights and measures to be used, and gives directions for expressing juice from fresh vegetables, making powder of well-dried plants, and preparing infusions and decoctions of various kinds. The vegetable resources of India are practically unlimited, and it is needless to add that Hindu physicians were acquainted with a vast variety of vegetable medicines. Most of them are assuaging and depuratory medicines, suited to the climate of the country and the unexcitable constitution of the nation. For sudden and severe cases there were drastic and mild purgatives, emetics, diaphoretics, and baths ; while acrid poisons were used with arsenic and mercurial preparations, as well as stimulants, sedatives, and narcotics.

Turning now to the subject of surgery, it will no doubt excite surprise (says Royle) "to find among the operations of those ancient surgeons those of lithotomy and the extraction of the fœtus ex utero ; and that no less than 127 surgical instruments are described in their works." Surgery was divided into *Chhedana*, scission ; *Bhedana*, excission ; *Lekhana*, scarification and inoculation ; *Vyadhana*, puncturing ; *Eshyam*, probing ; *Aharya*, extraction of solid bodies ; *Visravana*, extraction of fluids ; and *Sevana*, sewing. These various operations were performed by a large variety of surgical instruments, which Dr. Wilson classifies under the following heads :—*Yantras*, implements ; *Sastras*, instruments ; *Kshara*, alkaline solutions or caustics ; *Agni*, actual cautery ; *Salaka*, pins ; *Sringa*, horns ; *Alabu*, gourds used for cupping ; and *Jalauka*, or leeches. Besides these, we have thread, leaves, bandages, pledgets, heated metallic plates for erubescent, and a variety of astringent or emolient applications.

We are told that the instruments should be of metal, always

bright, handsome, polished, and sharp, sufficiently so "to divide a hair longitudinally." And the young practitioner is recommended to acquire proficiency in the use of such instruments by making incisions, not only on vegetable substances, but also on the fresh hides of animals and on the vessels of dead animals.

It will be of some interest to Hindu readers to know, when foreign scientific skill and knowledge are required in every district in India for sanitary and medical work, that twenty-two centuries ago Alexander the Great kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases which Greek physicians could not heal, and that eleven centuries ago Haroun-al-Rashid of Bagdad retained two Hindu physicians, known in Arabian records as Manka and Saleh, as his own physicians.

CHAPTER XII

DRAMA

More remarkble than the progress made in science in this period is the wonderful development which poetry and the drama received in this the Augustan Era of Sanskrit Literature. Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti stand higher in the estimation of the Hindus and of the world than Aryabhatta and Charaka.

It is neither possible nor desirable to attempt whithin our limits to write a history of later Sanskrit literature. All that we shall attempt to do will be to indicate the names of the most illustrious writers, and describe as briefly as possible their most remarkable work. This will give our readers a bird's-eye view of the literary character of the epoch ; and this is all that we can venture to attempt within our limits. We will speak of dramatic literature in this chapter, and of poetry and fiction in the following chapters.

The brilliant period of which we are speaking opens with the illustrious Kalidasa, and that gifted son of the Muses, although the author of several works of great excellence, is known to the civilised world chiefly as the author of *Sakuntala*. He who has read this drama in Sanskrit need not necessarily be a Hindu to hold the opinion that no sweeter or lovelier creation has emanated from the human fancy than the gentle and tender-souled forest maiden, Sakuntala.

King Dushyanta goes on a hunting expedition, and arrives at the hermitage of Kanva. Walking in a humble attire among the groves, he espies three damsels engaged in watering plants ; needless to say that these maidens are Sakuntala, daughter of a nymph by a human parent, and her two companions. Sakuntala had been brought up by the sage Kanva from her infancy, and had attained the bloom of her youthful loveliness in these woodland retreats among her rustic companions, her plants, and her pet animals. Dushyanta, accustomed to the artificial grace of court

beauties, is ravished at the sight of this simple child of nature, dressed in bark, which almost heightens her charms, like a veil of leaves enfolding a radiant flower. He finds a suitable occasion to appear before the maiden and her companions; some words are interchanged, and the gentle Sakuntala feels an emotion unknown to her simple life before.

Love tells on her gentle frame, and when he comes to meet her again, "she resembles a Madhavi creeper whose leaves are dried by a sultry gale; yet even thus transformed she is lovely and charms my soul." The lovers meet, and a marriage ceremony, the Gandharva rite, seals their union. Dushyanta then departs, leaving a signet-ring with his bride, and promising to convey her to his capital almost immediately after.

Then begins the interest of the drama. Sakuntala, when deeply musing on her absent lord, forgets to pay proper homage to an irritable sage who had come to the hermitage as a guest. The angry sage resents the neglect, and utters a curse that he of whom she thinks so abstractedly will forget her. Pacified by the entreaties of her companions, the sage modifies his sentence, and says that he will call her back to mind on her showing the signet-ring. Dushyanta accordingly forgets his rustic love, and poor Sakuntala, then gone with child, pines and droops in her lonely retreat.

Her foster-father Kanva comes to know all, and arranges to send the girl to her lord. Touching as this drama is throughout, there is no part of it so truly tender and touching as Sakuntala's parting with her companions and pets in the peaceful hermitage where she had lived so long. The heart of Kanva himself is big with grief and his eyes overflow with tears. The invisible wood-nymphs bid her a sad adieu; the two gentle companions of Sakuntala can scarcely tear themselves from their loved and departing friend. Sankuntala herself is almost overpowered as she takes her farewell from all she had so long loved and cherished so well.

"*Sak.* Father! when yon female antelope, who now moves slowly from the weight of the young ones with which she is pregnant, shall be

delivered of them, send me, I beg, a kind message with tidings of her safety—Do not forget.

"*Kanva.* My beloved, I will not forget it.

"*Sak.* (advancing and then stopping). Ah! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe and detains me? (She turns round and looks.)

"*Kanva.* It is thy adopted child, the little fawn whose mouth, when the sharp point of the kusa grass has wounded it, has been so often smeared by thy hand with the healing oil of Ingudi; who has been so often fed by thee with a handful of Syamaka grains, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.

"*Sak.* Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me, who must leave our common dwelling-place? As thou wast reared by me when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster, father attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care—Return, poor thing, return. We must part. (She bursts into tears.)"—SIR WILLIAM JONES.

The plot thickens. Sakuntala's lord has forgotten her, and the ring which would alone have called her back to his mind is lost in the way. Dushyanta receives Sakuntala and her party politely, but declines to receive as a bride a woman whom he cannot recognise and who is with child. Poor Sakuntala almost sinks under this calamity, for she knows not its cause. She did not hear the curse which was uttered by the sage, nor the partial modification of it to which he consented on the entreaty of her companions. She tries in vain to bring to Dushyanta's recollection those too-well remembered events which marked their brief days in the hermitage, and at last breaks out in mortification and grief. Her companions leave her in the palace, and separate quarters are allowed to her, but she is saved further humiliation by a miracle. A celestial nymph descends in the form of light, and carries her away from the earth, where her fate had been sad and bitter indeed.

An accident now brings the past to the king's recollection. A fisherman caught a fish which had swallowed the ring, which Sakuntala had dropped in a stream; and on sight of that gem the past comes thronging into the king's recollection! The love he bore for Sakuntala flames forth tenfold, and the cruel injustice he had done to that gentle and loving and confiding soul maddens him with pain. He relinquishes his

royal duties, forgets food and sleep, and loses himself in bitter agony.

He is roused from his stupor by the god Indra's charioteer, who on behalf of Indra asks the king's succour against Danavas. The king mounts the celestial car and conquers, and is then taken to the celestial hermitage of Kasyapa, father of the gods, residing there in holy retirement with his consort Aditi.

While waiting there the king sees a powerful little boy playing with a lion's whelp.

"Ah ! (he thinks) what means it that my heart inclines to this boy as if he were my own son ? (meditating). Alas ! I have no son, and this reflection makes me once more soft-hearted."—JONES.

The reader no doubt perceives that the boy *was* the king's son. Sakuntala had been carried away by the pitying gods and kept here until the king's clouded recollection was clear again. And when Sakuntala appears, Dushyanta craves her forgiveness on his knees and is forgiven by the too-loving Sakuntala. The reconciled pair are then taken with the boy to the divine pair Kasyapa and Aditi, and the play closes with the blessings of those holy personages.

Two other dramatic works of Kalidasa are left to us. *Vikramorvasi* describes the loves of the hero Pururavas and the celestial nymph Urvasi. We know that the story is as old as the Rig Veda, and is in its first conception a myth of the Sun (Pururavas=bright-rayed) pursuing the Dawn (Urvasi= wide-expanding). But the origin of the story has long since been lost to the Hindus, and Pururavas of Kalidasa and the Puranas is a mortal king who rescued a celestial nymph named Urvasi from demons, and felt for her a tender love which was reciprocated. So smitten was the gentle nymph with the charms for the mortal, that when she appeared in the court of Indra to enact a play, she forgot her part and betrayed the secret of her heart by uttering the name of the mortal she loved.

Urvasi played Lakshmi. Menaka was Varuni. The latter says :—

"Lakshmi, the mighty powers that rule the spheres
Are all assembled ; at their head appears
The blooming Kesava ; confess, to whom
Inclines your heart ?"—H. H. WILSON.

Her reply should have been—"To Purushottama ; but, instead of that, "To Pururavas" escaped her lips.

For this error the gentle nymph was punished ; but Indra with considerate care, modified the punishment into a blessing, and directed the nymph to go and live with her beloved mortal until he beheld an offspring born by her.

Pururavas vainly tried to conceal his new love from his own queen, and vainly expressed a penitence he did not feel by falling at her feet. The queen somewhat unceremoniously replied—

"You make, my lord, an awkward penitent ; I cannot trust you."—WILSON.

And she left the king to the very cruel but very wise reflections—

"I might have spared myself the pains. A woman is clear sighted, and mere words touch not her heart. Passion must give them credit. The lapidary, master of his craft, with cold indifference eyes the spurious gem."—WILSON.

But the queen soon perceived that her husband's love was beyond control, and her resentment was unavailing. With a Hindu wife's self-abnegation, she contrived under the guise of a religious performance, to make amends for her fomer behaviour, and even to permit her lord to relinquish himself to his new attachment. Clad in white, with only flowers for her ornaments, she came slowly to worship her lord and king, who almost felt a return of his previous fondness for her on seeing her in this attire.

"In truth she pleases me. Thus chastely robed in modest white, her c lustering, tresses decked with sacred flowers alone, her haughty mien exchanged for pure dovotion ; thus arrayed she moves with heightened charms."—WILSON.

But she knew her charms were unavailing ; she presented oblations to the king, fell at his feet, and then called the moon and the Rohini star to

"Hear and attest the sacred promise that I make my husband, whatever nymph attract my lord's regard, and share with him the mutual bond of love, I henceforth treat with kindness and complacency."—WILSON.

Even Urvasi's companion was struck with this magnanimous self-abnegation, and remarked—

"She is a lady of an exalted spirit, a wife of duty most exemplary."—WILSON.

The loves of the king and the nymph, and their temporary separation through a supernatural incident, are then described with all the power of Kalidasa's pen.

He pined during the separation, wandered in the forest, and addressed birds and beasts and inanimate objects.

"I have sued to the starry-plumed bird,
And the *koil* of love-breathing song :
To the lord of the elephant herd,
And the bee as he murmured along ;
To the swan, and the loud waterfall,
To the *chakwa*, the rock and the roe ;
In my search have I sued to them all,
But none of them lightened my woe."

—WILSON.

He recovered her after his wanderings, but was again likely to lose her. For the boy whom Urvasi had borne to her lord, but had concealed so long, was seen by chance by his father ; and according to Indra's orders the nymph must return to the skies as soon as her lover saw the child she bore him. But Indra again modified his commands, and Narada descended from the skies to carry Indra's mandate to Pururavas—

"And Urvasi shall be through life united
With thee in holy bonds."—WILSON.

The third and last play, said to be Kalidasa's, is *Malavikagnimitra*, or the loves of Malavika and Agnimitra. But we greatly doubt if this play is from Kalidasa's pen. Agnimitra and his father Pushpamitra are historical characters; the latter was the general of the last king of the Maurya dynasty, and he put that king to death and founded the Sunga dynasty of the Magadha kings.

Malavika is a beautiful attendant of the queen Dharini, and learns dancing and music. The queen jealously guards her from the king Agnimitra's eyes, but has unwisely caused her picture gallery, and a view of this picture inspires the king with a desire to see the original. Malavika appears before the king to display her skill in singing and dance, and the king contracts a passion for her.

The jealous queen locks up the amorous and lovely girl, but Malavika is taken out by a contrivance, and has an interview with the king.

News is received that the king's son has gained a victory over the Yavanas on the banks of the Indus, and the queen is so pleased that she distributes gifts to all, and feeling perhaps that it is useless to try to stem the king's love, bestows on him the lovely Malavika. Thus the piece ends happily ; but nither in its plot nor in its poetry is it on a level with *Sakuntala*, or even with *Vikramorvasi*.

Kalidasa lived in the sixth century, and graced the court of Vikramaditya. A century after his time, an Emperor of India, and a worthy successor of Vikramaditya both in prowess and in letters, tried to emulate the renowned Kalidasa. Siladitya II., called also Sri Harsadeva, reigned from 610 to 650, and received the Chinese traveller Houen Tsang. He was not only the Emperor of all Northern India, but was himself a man of letters. He is reputed to be the author of *Ratnavali*, though it is probable the celebrated novelist of his court, Banabhatta composed that play. Kalidasa's fame had spread all over India by that time, and humbler poets unconsciously designed their works on the plots of the great master. This is specially apparent in the Ratnavali, in which plagiarisms from Kalidasa's plays are obvious.

The play opens with an account of the spring festival, when the god of Love was worshipped, and coloured water was showered by merry men and mirthful maids on each other. The custom of throwing red powder and coloured water still obtains all over India, but Krishna has now appropriated to himself the worship which in ancient times was offered to the god of Love.

The queen goes to the garden to offer worship to the god of Love and requests the presence of the king. A lovely attendant of the queen, Sagarika by name, whom the queen had jealously guarded from the king's eyes, comes also to the garden, and she looks on the king from behind a tree and falls in love with him.

Sitting alone in the garden, the love-stricken maiden draws the likeness of him who has stolen her heart, but is discovered by a fellow-attendant who is equally proficient in painting and who draws by the portrait of the king a likeness of Sagarika herself. The double portrait is lost through carelessness and is picked up by the king, who falls in love with the maiden whose picture he finds by his own. It is impossible not to find to this plot a countarpart of the story of Agnimitra, who falls in love with his queen's attendant on looking at her portrait.

Like Kalidasa's Dushyanta, the king picks up the lotus leaves which had been applied on Sagarika's feverish person, and finds in the pallid circles therein the contour of the maiden's well-proportioned bosom. Soon after the lovers meet, but as usual the meeting is interrupted by the untimely approach of the queen. Once again the queen finds undeniable evidence of the king's love for Sagarika ; the king, like Kalidasa's Pururavas, falls at her feet, but the queen retires with ill-suppressed resentment.

The amorous Sagarika is, like Malavika, locked up by the angry queen. A magician then comes from Ujjayini and show off his feats. Soon after the palace seems to be on flame, and the king rushes to save Sagarika, who was enchained inside, and rescues her ; but the flames disappear ; it was only a feat of the magician ! When Sagarika is brought out, she is recognised to be Ratnavali, the princess of Ceylon ; and, like Malavika, Ratnavali is at last made over to the king by the queen herself.

A still more remarkable play, the *Nagananda*, is also attributed to Siladitya II., but is probably, like *Ratnavali* the work of some poet of his court. We call it a remarkable work, because it is probably the only Indian Buddhist drama which has come down to us. In this Buddhist play

we find Hindu gods and goddesses mixed up with Buddhist objects of veneration. It is this which gives the work its special value.

Jimutavahana, prince of the Vidyadharas, finds Malayavati, princess of the Siddhas, engaged in the worship of Gauri (a Hindu goddess), and falls in love with her. He appears before her, as Dushyanta appeared before Sakuntala, and is received with courtesy, and the maiden, we need hardly say, falls in love with the prince. The usual symptoms of love, as in Sakuntala, affect Malayavati ; she is feverish, and sandal-juice is applied to her person, and she is fanned with plantain leaf.

Jimutavahana employs himself with drawing a portrait of the maiden who had stolen his heart. He asks for a piece of red arsenic to draw the portrait, and his companion picks up from the ground and brings some pieces, from which five colours (blue, yellow, red, brown, and variegated) could be obtained. From this account it would appear that the ancient Hindus, like the ancient painters of Pompei, used coloured earth and minerals for their painting.

Malayavati watches the young prince as he draws the picture, and thinking it was the portrait of some other maiden whom he loved, becomes jealous and faints. In the meantime Malayavati's father sends a message to Jimutavahana offering his daughter as his bride ; but Jimutavahana does not yet know that the maiden he had seen was the princess herself, and desiring to be true to the maiden he had seen, refuses the hand of the princess !

The mistakes of both the lovers are soon removed. The prince discovers that the maiden with whom he had fallen in love is the very princess whose hand is offered to him, and the princess too soon discovers that the portrait which the prince had drawn is her own portrait. Wedding follows with great pomp and ceremony.

We have an amusing account here of a parasite of the king's court, Sekharaka, who has regaled himself too freely with wine during the festivities, and makes some ludicrous blunders. He declares that there are only two gods for him,

Baladeva and Kama—the former being a Hindu god known for his drinking exploits, and the latter being the Hindu god of love ; and the valiant knight goes out to meet his lady-love a female slave with whom he is in love. Instead of meeting that sweet damsel, he meets the prince's companion, a Brahman, who had put his garment over his head to keep out insects, and so looked like a veiled woman. Sekharaka, not very keen in his perception, embraces the Brahman as his mistress, to the utter disgust of the latter. who stops his nose at the smell of liquor ! Confusion is worse confouded when the sweet damsel herself appears on the spot ; the not very discriminating lover is taxed with courting another maiden and the Brahman is treated to some choice epithets as "tawny monkey," has his sacred thread torn, and offers to fall at the feet of the slave-girl in order to get out of the scrape. Everything, however, is at last explained satisfactorily.

We are then introduced to the bride and bridegroom in the raptures of their young love ; the latter politely asks for a kiss in these words—

"O lovely one ! if this face of thine with its pink flush as it is lighted up by the sun's rays, and with its soft down revealed by the spreading gleam of its teeth, is really a lotus, why is not a bee seen drinking the honey from it ?"—BOYD.

But the lover is rudely interrupted by news about his kingdom which takes him away.

So far the story is like the story of other Hindu plays ; but the last two Acts (V. and VI.) are essentially Buddhistic, and illustrate, of course in an extravagant form, the real virtue of self-sacrifice for the good of others.

Jimutavahana goes to the Western Ghats, and sees on the sea-shore a heap of bones of Nagas killed by Garuda, the king of birds. Nagas are snakes, but in the conception of Hindu and Buddhist poets they are formed like men, except that they are scaly and have hoods rising from their backs. A compact has been made with Garuda that a Naga will be sent to him daily for his food, and as Jimutavahana sees a Naga tearing himself from his weeping mother and preparing himself as Garuda's food, his heart bleeds within him. He

manages to offer himself up to the ferocious Garuda in place of the Naga, and the bird flies away with him.

There is wailing and lamentation in Jimutavahana's household when the Naga runs there and reports that the prince has offered himself a sacrifice. His old parents and his newly-married wife rush to where Garuda is still eating the princes's flesh, his life all but extinct. The real Naga also rushes in there and offers himself up to save the innocent prince, and thus proves his identity.

"Not to mention the Mark of Svastika on the breast, are there not the scales on my body ? Do you not count the two tongues as I speak ? nor see these three hoods of mine ?"—BOYD.

Garuda then discovers his mistake and is horrified.

"Alas ! alas ! his own body has been of his own accord presented for my food by this noble-minded one, through pity to save the life of a Naga who had fallen within the reach of my voracity. What a terrible sin have I committed ! In a word, this is a Bodhisatva[6] whom I have slain."—BOYD.

Jimutavahana instructs Garuda how the sin can be expiated.

"Cease for ever from destroying life ; repent of thy former deeds ; labour to gather together an unbroken chain of good actions by inspiring confidence in all living beings."—BOYD.

The heroic prince expires after giving these instructions, as he had been more than half eaten up. His parents prepare to mount the funeral pyre to depart from this world. The lamenting young widow invokes Gauri, the goddess whom she invoked before marriage.

All ends happily. Gauri restores the prince to life and Garuda prevails on Indra—a Hindu god—to revive to life all the Nagas whom he killed before. *Harm not living creatures* ; —that is the moral of this Buddhist play.

Another century rolled on from the date of Siladitya II., and a truly great poet arose—not a plagiarist of Kalidasa, but his worthy peer in merit and in fame. Bhavabhuti, also called Srikantha, was a Brahman, born in Vidarbha or Berar,

6. A Bodhisatva is a potential Buddha, or one who has only one more birth remaining before he becomes a perfect Buddha.

but soon attached himself to the learned court of Kanouj, then the literary capital of India. From his native region "stern and wild" the poetic child had imbibed that appreciation of Nature in her wild magnificence which distinguishes him from all other Sanskrit poets. From the cultured court of Kanouj he no doubt learnt that art of poetry and the rules of drama which set off the effusions of his genious. He was not destined, however, to pass his days in Kanouj. Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj, was defeated by the powerful Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir, and the poet accompanied the conqueror to Kashmir.

Three of Bhavabhuti's pieces, have come down to us. We will begin with the *Malatimadhava*, or the loves of Malati and Madhava.

Madhava is the son of Devarata, the minister of the poet's own country, Vidarbha or Berar, and has come to Padmavati or Ujjayini to complete his studies. In that town, as he walked along the streets, Malati, the daughter of the minister of the place—

"From her casement has beheld the youth,—he graceful as the god of love, herself love's blooming bride,—nor seen in vain"—H. H. WILSON

On the occasion of the annual festival of the god of Love, the people flock to the shrine of Love to pay their homage. Malati too repairs to the shrine on an elephant, and meets Madhava, and the youth and maiden gaze on each other, and fall in love.

But the course of true love never does run smooth ; and the king of Padmavati has promised Malati's hand to a favourite, Nandana, and the king's minister, Malati's father, dares not openly refuse his consent. The news is a bolt from the blue to the love-stricken maiden, and Kamandaki, a Buddhist priestess or abbess, exclaims in pity—

"What can I aid ? Fate and her sire alone exact obedience from a daughter. True, Sakuntala of Kusika's high race, bestowed her love on a self-chosen lord, the king Dashyanta. A bright nymph of heaven espoused a mortal monarch, Pururavas, and the fair princess, Vasavadatta, scorned the husband of her father's choice, and fled with Prince Udayana. So poets tell, but these were desperate acts. —WILSON.

It is apparent that the priestess, or rather the poet, refers here to his great predecessor Kalidasa's two works, and also to the story of Vasavadatta, which was so popular a theme of fiction and drama in the court of Siladitya II.

The Buddhist priestess, however, had made up her mind to help Malati and Madhava. They have an interview in the house of the priestess, but Malati is torn away thence by the order of the queen. Madhava in despair determines to apply to mysterious rites for gaining his end, and this leads us to a scene of awful Tantrika worship. The genius of Bhavabhuti never appears to greater advantage than when depicting a scene of magnificence or terror.

In a field in which dead bodies are burnt is situated a temple of the terrific goddess Chamunda, and the malignant priestess, Kapala Kundala, with her necklace of skulls (as her name implies), is engaged in worship. There goes Madhava with his offering of raw flesh, to obtain from ghosts some help towards the attainment of his end. He offers the flesh to ghosts and goblins and exclaims—

'Now wake the terrors of the place, beset
With crowding and malignant fiends ; the flames
From funeral pyres scarce lend their sullen light,
Clogged with their fleshly prey, to dissipate
The fearful gloom that hems them in. Pale ghosts
Sport with foul goblins, and their dissonant mirths
In shrill respondent shrieks is echoed round.
Well, be it so, I seek and must address them.
Demons of ill, and disembodied spirits,
Who haunt this spot, I bring you flesh for sale :
The flesh of man, untouched by trenchant steel,
And worthy your acceptance. (*A great noise*)
How the noise,
High, shrill, and indistinct, of chattering sprites
Communicative, fills the charnel ground !
Strange forms like foxes flit along the sky :
From the red hair of their lank bodies darts
The meteor blaze ; or from their mouths that stretch
From ear to ear, thick set with numerous fangs,
Or eyes or beards or brows, the radiance streams
And now I see the goblin host !.....

. . . . .

They mark my coming, and the half-chewed morsel
Falls to the howling wolf,—and now they fly.
(*Pauses, and looking round*)
Race, dastardly as hideous ! All is plunged
In utter gloom. The river flows before me,
The boundary of the funeral ground, that winds
Through mouldering bones its interrupted way.
Wild raves the torrent as it rushes past
And rends its crumbling banks ; the wailing owl
Hoots through its skirting groves, and to the sounds
The loud long-moaning jackal yells reply"—WILSON

Suddenly Madhava hears the voice, musical and wild, of a young woman in distress—

"Ah, cruel father ! She you meant an offering
To the king's favour, now deserted dies.—WILSON

That voice is not unfamiliar to Madhava's ears ; he bursts into the temple and finds Malati dressed as a victim and about to be sacrificed by Aghoraghanta, the terrible priest of Chamunda. Some Tantrika rites require the sacrifice of a virgin, and the sweetest and purest virgin in Padmavati town had been selected and kidnapped for this sacrifice. Malati herself does not know that she was stolen :

"I reposed," she says,
"At eve upon the terrace : when I woke
I found myself a prisoner."—Wilson.

Madhava rescues his beloved and slays the malignant priest. But the more malignant priestess Kapala Kundala vows revenge.

We pass by a great many minor incidents. At last Malati elopes with Madhava. The king sends his guards to arrest the culprits ; but Madhava beats back the guards, and the king generously forgives him in consideration of his valour.

Here the play might happily have ended with the marriage of the lovers with the king's sanction ; but Bhavabhuti prolongs the story to bring in some powerful description of nature and of human feelings. His incidents and plot, as usual, are extravagant, but his descriptions are matchless in power. Malati is once more kidnapped by the foul priestess Kapala Kundala, and Madhava goes in search of her among

the Vindhya mountains. Saudamini, who was a Buddhist priestess before, but has now acquired supernatural powers by the practice of *Yaga* resolves to help Madhava ; and from her lips we have a powerful description of the locality :—

"How wide the Prospect spreads,—mountain and rock
Towns, villages and woods and glittering streams !
There where the Para and the Sindhu wind,
The towers and temples, pinnacles and gates,
And spires of Padmavati, like a city
Precipitated from the skies, appear,
Inverted in the pure translucent wave,
There flows Lavana's frolic stream, whose groves
By early rains refreshed, afford the youth
Of Padmavati pleasant haunts, and where
Upon the herbage, brightening in the shower,
The heavy-uddered kine contented browse.
Hark ! how the banks of the broad Sindhu fall,
Crashing, in the undermining current,
Like the loud voice of thunder-laden clouds ;
The sound extends, and like Heramba's roar,
As deepened by the hollow echoing caverns,
It floats reverberating round the hills.
Those mountains, coated with thick clustering woods
Of fragrant sandal and ripe Malura
Recall to memory the lofty mountains
That southward stretch, where Godavari
Impetuous flashes through the dark deep shade
Of skirting forests, echoing to her fury."—Wilson.

Saudamini, by her magical powers, at last rescues Malati, and Malati is happily wedded to Madhava.

The other two plays of Bhavabhuti are taken from the Ramayana. One of them, the *Mahavira Charita*, narrates the story of Rama from his boyhood to his conquests in Ceylon and return with Sita to his native country. This play is decidedly inferior to the other plays of Bhavabhuti, but nevertheless contains passages of great power. There is a ring of true poetry in the passage in which the ancient king Janaka (the promulgator of the Upanishads and the proud asserter of the Kshatriya's equality with Brahmans in learning) is roused to indignation by the pretensions of Parasurama, the son of Jamadagni. The old king indignantly exclaims ; "Although

he hates us, still we have had patience with him so long. When he shakes us again like a blade of grass, then let the bow be bent against him, although he be a Brahman."

The source of the Godavari, in the poet's own native land, is thus described :—

"Where, amid Janasthana's frowning woods,
The tall Prasravana uprears his head,
Dark tinctured in the clouds, and bathes his brow
With their descending dews ; thence through his caves,
He culls the oozing moisture, and sends forth
The pure Godavari to win her way,
Stately and clear, through ancient trees that shade,
Impervious tangling, her majestic course."—WILSON.

The other play, *Uttara Rama Charita*, continues the story of the Ramayana to Sita's exile, and to the reconciliation of Rama with his children, Lava and Kusa. In power and in graphic description, this play is equal to the Malati Madhava, while in pathos and tenderness it will compare with anything in the whole range of Sanskrit literature.

The story is the story of the Ramayana, and need not be told in detail. The play opens with a conversation of Rama and Sita, now returned from Ceylon, and seated on the throne of Ayodhya or Oude. In the second scene, Lakshmana exhibits to them a series of paintings representing the past occurrences of Rama's life, and the gentle Sita can scarcely look over the scenes of her past sufferings without sorrow. The poet, of course, has a word to say about his beloved Godavari, which

"Bursts forth, and down the mountain wends her way
Through gloomy shades and thick entangling woods."

—WILSON

And Rama reminds Sita of their happy days passed there in touching lines.—

"Recall'st thou, love, our humble happy dwelling
Upon the borders of the shining stream
Where every hour in fond endearments wrapped,
Or in sweet interchange of thought engaged,
We lived in transport, not a wish beyond
Each other, reckless of the flight of time ?"—WILSON

The languid Sita, then gone with child, wants repose, and Rama lovingly addresses her—

"Be these arms thy pillow,
Thine, ever since the nuptial knot united us,
Thine, in the days of infancy and youth,
In lonely thickets and in princely palaces,
Thine, ever thine.

Sita. True, true, my ever kind and cherished lord. [*Sleeps.*

Rama. Her latest waking words are words of love,
And nought of her but is most dear to me.
Her presence is ambrosia to my sight;
Her contact fragrant sandal; her fond arms
Twined round my neck are a far richer clasp
Than costliest gems; and in my house she reigns
The guardian goddess of my fame and fortune.
Oh! I could never bear again to lose her."—WILSON.

The last sentiment is artfully put in here by the poet, for Rama is on the eve of losing Sita again. Weak, as he is loving and gentle, he hears with distress, immediately after leaving Sita in her sleep, that his subjects are ill-pleased with his conduct in accepting Sita again, after she had been carried away by Ravana. Too weak to bear popular dissatisfaction, he submits to their desires, and sends poor Sita to exile.

Twelve years have since passed and gone. The twins to whom Sita gave birth soon after her exile have grown to be sturdy boys, versed in arms as in learning under the tuition of Valmiki. Sita leads a pensive life in the forests, her face

"Pale and wan and wet with tears,
She moves along like Tenderness,
Invested with a mortal dress;
Or like embodied Grief she shines
That sad o'er love in absence pines."—WILSON.

It is arranged that Sita, rendered invisible by divine power, should have an interview with Rama, and the poet must needs have the interview on the banks of the Godavari. There Rama stays, accompanied by Vasanti, or friend of Sita, and Sita and Tamasa,—invisible to Rama,—also repair there. Every scene there recalls to Rama the bygone days when Rama and Sita lived there together, and fills him with grief; and Vasanti does not fail, by cruel though gentle hints, to bring home to Rama

his injustice towards Sita. Bhavabhuti is too spirited not to feel indignant at Rama's extreme weakness in yielding to popular clamour, and at his unspeakble injustice in sending an innocent and helpless and loving wife to exile. And though the poet shares a Hindu's feeling of general respect for Rama, yet the reader can perceive the poet is determined to give Rama "a bit of his mind," for bis unparalleled feebleness and crime.

Vasanti takes care to remind Rama,—

"Here in this plantain grove
Behold the marble which in happier days
Supported thee and Sita. Here she sat,
And from her hands gave fodder to the deer
That boldly crowded round their gentle mistress.
Rama. I cannot bear to look upon it." [*Weeps.*

—WILSON.

Poor Sita, who is present, though invisible to Rama, can bear it no longer ; she exclaims—

"Vasanti, this is cruel:
My lord demands respect from all, and most
From those who love me."—WILSON.

But Vasanti is inexorable, and goes on speaking to Rama.

"How hadst thou the heart
To drive that gentle being from thee ? Once
She was thy love, thy other dearer life,
Light of thine eyes, and nectar of thy soul."*—WILSON.

In vain does Rama plead the people's will. Vasanti goes on, and makes horrible suggestions as to the fate which has probably overtaken Sita after her exile in the forest. Rama shudders and weeps aloud. Sita can witness her lord's sufferings no longer, and exclaims to Tamasa, "Alas ; he weeps aloud." But Tamasa answers—

"Tis better thus
To give our sorrows way. Sufferers should speak
Their griefs ; the bursting heart that overflows
In words obtains relief"—WILSON.

* No student of Sanskrit who has read these lines in the origi nal, has ever forgotten their matchless beauty, rhythm, and tenderness.

We almost think we are perusing a paraphrase of Shakespeare, matchless lines in Macbeth,—

"Give sorrow words ; the grief that does not speak,
Whispers the o'erfraught heart and makes it break."

And yet the bard of Vidarbha lived eight centuries before the bard of Avon !

The cruel lesson is administered to Rama until he faints. Sita, herself invisible, touches his forehead, and at that loving touch Rama revives, exclaiming, "Joy, joy, Vasanti ; wilt thou share my joy ?" and declares that he has left the touch of Sita's hand—

"I could not be deceived,
Too well I know the touch of that dear hand
The marriage rite first placed in mine ; even now
Cool as the snow drift to my fevered palm,
And soft as jasmine buds, I grasp it."—WILSON.

But Sita gets away. She and Tamasa must depart, but she can scarcely tear herself away.

"Oh, let me look,
A little moment longer, on a form,
I never, never, may behold again !"—WILSON.

And before leaving, she exclaims—

"I bow me to the feet of my dear lord,
The source of every blessing."—WILSON.

Yes, the poor, banished, injured Sita bows to the feet of her dear lord,—that lord who had heedlessly, feebly, cruelly sent her to the forest,—alone, helpless, on the eve of her confinement ! Female self-abnegation can go on further ; undying love has never been more forcibly represented ; human imagination has never pictured a nobler, purer, saintlier character than that of the gentle, ever-loving, all-forgiving Sita.

Once again, in another place, the poet gives vent to his indignation at Rama's feeble conduct. The ancient king Janaka, revered as much for his prowess as for his holy life and his Vedic lore, grows indignant when he remembers his daughter's sufferings. The warm blood tingles in his old veins when he ponders on Rama's conduct, and he bursts out in rage—

"Shame on the thankless race that wronged thy fame,
And Rama's haste to listen to their calumnies.
The cruel blow that has overwhelmed my child
Arouses all my soul, and tempts my wrath
To deal with arms, or direr imprecations,
Destruction on my Sita's persecutors.—WILSON

The story of Rama's Asvamedha sacrifice is well known. The horse is let loose, and Rama's sons dare to detain it, and thus unwillingly provoke hostilities with Rama's forces. The meeting of Lava and Chandraketu is well described. Both are young heroes, full of ardour for battle, but displaying chivalrous courtesy and respect towards each other. Chandraketu descends from his car,—why ?

"To pay my homage to this valiant youth,
And do a soldier's duty. To assail
At such advantage one who fights on foot
The god of arms forbids."—WILSON

And this was written centuries before chivalry was developed in Europe.

The sage Valmiki arranges a happy reconciliation with which the play is to conclude ; but the poet must have another hit at Rama before he lays down his pen. A theatrical performance is to take place before Rama, and the subject is Rama's desertion of his wife! Sita on the stage calls for help when deserted, and in her distress and agony throws herself in the Ganges. Rama can bear it no longer, and starts up exclaiming—

"Dear love, forbear ! I fly to thy assistance."—WILSON

His brother Lakshmana reminds him—

"Does my lord remember, what he views is but a fiction ?

Rama. Alas ! that such a portion should have been the gift of Rama to his tender bride, the dear companion of his forest dwelling.
—WILSON

The reader is herein reminded of the stage in Hamlet which was contrived to convict Hamlet's uncle of his guilt. The play ends happily, Rama receives back Sita and his boys Lava and Kusa, and the people of Ayodhya are penitent, and bend "in prostrate homage to the Queen."

When we have spoken of Kalidasa and of Bhavabhuti, we have spoken of all that is best in the Sanskrit dramatic litera-

ture. Several hundreds of plays must have been composed and enacted in what we may call the Augustan Era of Sanskrit literature, but the works of genius only survive ; polished imitation and lifeless pieces do not stand the test of time. Some of the masterpieces of Shakespeare will be read even after Shakespear's language becomes a dead language, but Peel, Green, and Marlowe, or even Ben Jonson will scarcely be remembered twelve centuries after the date of Elizabeth.

The total number of Hindu plays which exist, or which are alluded to by writers on the Drama, is estimated by H. H. Wilson to be not more than sixty. Most of these, however, are of a comparatively recent date, and very few are of any merit, or are generally known or read. The only pieces (beside those spoken of above) which are generally known and read at the present day are the *Mrichchhakati*, the *Mudra Rakshasa*, and the *Veni Sanhara*. A word or two about them will suffice.

The Mrichchhakati is ascribed to a king Sudraka, and the time of its composition is unknown. Internal evidence leads us, however, to think that it must be referred to the brilliant literary period which commenced with the sixth century. Its style is not widely different from the style of composition of the other plays, of this period, and, like many of them, it has its scene at Ujjayini. The Pauranic Trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Siva—is recognised (Act VI), Buddhists have already become objects of aversion, though persecution has not yet commenced (Act VII), and the Code of Manu is the recognised law for the administration of justice (Act IX). For the rest, the Mrichchhakati deals not with princes and princesses, but with men and women in the ordinary walks of life ; it gives us an insight into the town life of the olden days, with its system of justice and police, its gambling and other vices ; and it is a fairly correct picture of the people and their manners. We shall have to allude to the play frequently when we come to the subject of the manners and civilisation of this Period.

The Mudra Rakshasa is a more recent play, and the another is Visakha Datta. The closing speech of the drama would seem to show that the Musalmans were already masters

of India when this play was composed. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it refers to the political revolution by which Chanakya helped Chandragupta to secure the throne of the Magadhas about 320 B.C. The contrast between the character of Chanakya, who is scheming, vindictive, violent, and inexorable, and that of Rakshasa, who is generous, straightforward, noble, and faithful, is finely drawn.

The play of Veni Sanhara is attributed to Bhatta Narayana who is said to have been one of the Brahmans who came on Adisura's invitation from Kanouj to Bengal. Many Brahmans in Bengal still claim descent from the author of this piece. The subject is taken from the Mahabharata. Draupadi, when lost by Yudhisthira at dice, was dragged in the public assembly by Duhsasana by her Veni or braided hair, and she resolved that her hair would remain dishevelled until that insult was revenged. The insult was revenged when Bhima killed Duryodhana, and Draupadi's hair was bound up again. There are passages which are vigorous, but on the whole the play is harsh in style and rude in execution and it belongs obviously to a period not very long before the Mahommedan conquest of India.

CHAPTER XIII

POETRY

THE name of Kalidasa stands foremost in poetry as in drama. There is a series of *Mahakavyas* or epics in Sanskrit belonging to the period of which we are now speaking, and the two best of them are Kalidasa's. One is called *Raghuvansa* or the race of Raghu, and the other is *Kumara Sambhava* or the birth of Kumara, the war-god.

The first is a long account of the rayal race of Ayodhya, beginning with the founder of the dynasty and ending with the last king of Rama's race. The subject is one more suited for history than for poetry, but the genius of the poet enlivens the whole story. Scenes from the lives of kings are painted with all the skill of a great master ; the descriptions are always rich and spirited, and often rise to true poetry ; and the reader remains from the first to the last under the spell of Kalidasa's rich and superb fancy, and his inimitable sweetness of versification.

One of the happiest and most remarkable passages in the whole work is that in which Rama, after winning back Sita from Ceylon, travels through the air in a celestial car all the way to Ayodhya. All India with her rivers and forests and mountains and the blue waters of the ocean lie below, and Rama points out the different places to his gentle and loving consort. Apart from the beauty of the passages, it is interesting as giving us some notion of the geography of India as known to the literary men of Ujjayini in the sixth century.

In our opinion Kalidasa takes a bolder flight, in his Kumara Sambhava. Here he does not narrate the history of a race of kings, but paints from the inexhaustible storehouse of his imagination the love of Uma for the great Siva, and their happy union.

Uma was born the daughter of the deity of the Himalaya mountains, and a sweeter child never saw the light.

"Blest was that hour, and all the world was gay,
When Mena's daughter saw the light of day,
A rosy glow filled all the brightening sky,
And odorous breeze came sweeping softly by,
Breathed round the hill a sweet unearthly strain,
And the glad heavens poured down their flowery rain.
—GRIFFITH

The early years of the gentle maiden are described with exquisite grace and sweetness ; but a great future awaits her. The gods intend her as a bride to the mighty Siva, for unto them will be born a child who will lead the gods to victory against the Asuras. Siva is now engaged in pious contemplation in the Himalaya mountains, and it is arranged that the youthful Uma will wait on the mighty god as a handmaiden, and look after all his needs.

We can remember nothing lovelier and fresher in the creation of fancy than the image of Uma clad in chaste garments and decorated with flowers, attending on the great god in his devotions, collecting flowers for him, and doing him due obeisance. In doing obeisance she stooped so low.

"That from her hair,
Dropped the bright flower that starred the midnight there".
—GRIFFITH

And Siva pleased with her homage, blessed her.

"Surely thou shalt be
Blessed with a husband who loves none but thee.—GRIFFITH

Everything might have gone on smoothly to the desired end, if the mischievous god of Love had not interfered. He marks the moment of Siva's weakness, and lets go his unerring shaft. Let the poet narrate the effect on the hermit-god Siva :—

"Like the moon's influence on the sea at rest,
Came passion stealing over the hermit's breast,
While on the maidens lip that mocked the dye
Of ripe red fruit he bent his melting eye.
And oh ! how showed the lady's love for him,
The heaving bosom and each quivering limb !
Like young Kadambas, when the leaf buds swell
At the warm touch of spring they love so well,

But still with downcast eyes she sought the ground,
And durst not turn their burning glances round.
Then with strong effort Siva lulled to rest
The storm of passion in his troubled breast,
And seeks, with angry eyes that round him roll,
Whence came the tempest over his tranquil soul,
He looked and saw the bold young archer stand,
His bow bent ready in his skilful hand,
Drawn towards the eye,—his shoulder well depressed,
And the left foot thrown forward as a rest,
Then was the hermit-god to madness lashed,
Then from his eye red flames of fury flashed,
So changed the beauty of that glorious brow,
Scarce could the gaze support its terror now.
Hark ! heavenly voices sighing through the air :
'Be calm, great Siva, O be calm and spare !'
Alas ! the angry eye's resistless flashes
Have scorched the gentle king of love to ashes !"

—GRIFFITH

Love's bride laments the death of her lord, and Uma in mortification and grief retires into a wood and begins penances and prayer. The poet launches again into a description of the gentle and tender girl subjecting herself to hard penances unsuited to her frame. Summer is passed amid scorching fires,—in autumn she remains exposed to the rains,—and the blasts of winter see her still unshaken in her purpose.

A young hermit comes to inquire the reason of these severe penances undertaken by a young and tender damsel. Uma's maidens explain to him the cause, but the hermit can scarcely believe that so gentle a creature should be in love with so unlovable a god as Siva, who remains smeared with ashes, and wanders about in funeral places.

"Impatient Uma listened ; the quick blood
Rushed to her temples in an angry flood."

—GRIFFITH

She explains to the unmannerly hermit with passionate eloquence the glories of the great deity whom none knows and none can comprehend, and she rises to depart from the place in anger and scorn.

"She turned away, with wrath her bosom swelling,
Its vest of bark in angry pride repelling,—
But sudden lo, before her wondering eyes
In altered form she sees the sage arise ;
'Tis Siva's self before the astonished maid
In all his gentlest majesty arrayed !—GRIFFITH

Yes, it is Siva himself, who had refused to be forced into love, but is now propitiated and pleased with Uma's penances, and now humbly craves a return of his affection from Uma, the mountain maid.

Among the shorter poems of Kalidasa, the best and sweetest is the *Meghaduta* or the Cloud Messenger. The story is simple. A Yaksha is banished by royal order from his home for being too fond of his wife and neglecting his duties ; and in his exile he gazes on the dark cloud of the rainy season and bids it carry a message of love to his dear beloved at home. The lover indicates the way by which the cloud should proceed, and the poet describes the various parts of India from the Vindhyas to the Himalaya mountains in verse, which, for richness of fancy and melody of rhythm, has never been excelled in the literature of the world.

"On Naga Nadi's bank's thy water shed,
And raise the feeble jasmine's languid head,
Grant for a while thy interposing shroud,
To where those damsels woo the friendly cloud ;
As while the garland's flowery stores thy seek,
The scorching sunbeams tinge their tender cheek,
The ear-hung lotus fades, and vain they chase,
Fatigued and faint, the drops that dew the face,
What though to northern climes thy journey lay,

Consent to track a shortly devious way,
To fair *Ujjaini's* palaces and pride
And beauteous daughters turn awhile aside ;
Those glancing eyes, those lightning looks unseen,
Dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been.

. . . . . .

Behold the city whose immortal fame,
Glows in *Avanti's* or *Visala's* name !
Renowned for deeds that worth and love inspire,
And bards to paint them with poetic fire ;
The fairest portion of celestial birth,

Of Indra's paradise transferred to earth,
The last reward to acts austerest given,
The only recompense then left to heaven,
Here as the early zephyrs waft along,
In swelling harmony, the woodland song,
They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower,
That joyful opens to the morning hour ;
With friendly zeal they sport around the maid
Who early courts their vivifying aid,
And cool from *Sipra's* jelid waves embrace
Each languid limb and enervated grace.—WILSON

Bharavi, who was a contemporary or a successor of Kalidasa, is by a long way inferior to him in all the qualities which make a great and a true poet. In the richness of a creative fancy, in true tenderness and pathos, and even in the sweetness and melody of verse, Kalidasa is incomparably a greater poet. But nevertheless Bharavi boasts of a vigour of thought and of language, a spirited and lofty eloquence in expression, which Kalidasa seldom equals. Only one Mahakavya, the *Kiratarjuniam* of Bharavi, has been left to us, and it is one of the most vigorous and spirited poems in the Sanskrit language.

The story is taken from the Mahabharata. Yudhisthira is in exile, and his spirited wife Draupadi urges him lo break the treaty with his cousins and to win back his kingdom. With the burning eloquence of a proud and a wronged woman she points out to him that peace and submission ill become a Kshatriya ; that faith is not to be kept with the faithless ; that kingdoms and glory are not won by meekness and resignation.

"Counsel to a saintly monarch
Is rebuke from woman weak,
"But, ignoring Woman's duty,
Pardon if my feelings speak !
"Spurn this sloth, assume thy prowess,
Dire destruction quick devise,
"Hermits saintly, not proud monarchs,
Ever-during patience prize ;
"If forgiveness thou wilt cherish
Quelling pride and noble ire,
"Forego this bow of royal glory,
Plait thy locks and worship Fire !

(*An unpublished translation by the present writer.*)

Yudhisthira's spirited brother Bhima supports Draupadi; but Yudhisthira is not to be moved from his plighted word, and recommends resignation. In the meantime Vyasa, the mythical compiler of the Vedas, comes to see the king in his exile, and advises Arjuna to seek by penance those celestial arms, with which he will conquer his foes in the hour of battle. Arjuna accordingly takes leave of his brothers, and Draupadi of course urges him on to the task with her persuasive eloquence. The hero retires into the solitudes of the Himalaya mountains to perform his penances.

No part of the poem brings out Bharavi's merits as a poet to greater advantage than the account of Arjuna's penances in this wild solitude. His innate pride and prowess are admirably constrasted with his present peaceful vocation; and the influence of his presence is felt by the animate and inanimate creatures of the peaceful hermitage. Indra's messenger sees this strange hermit, and reports to the god accordingly.

"Like a luminary of the sky,
Though clad in barks, on yonder hill,
"A man, intent on purpose high,
Doth penances! And earth is still!

"His arms, whose muscles snake-like coil,
Hold a mighty powerful bow;
"But gentle are his deeds and toil,
No gentler hermit lives below!

"The wind blows soft, the sward is green,
And gentle rains the dust allay,
"By worth subdued, the elements
In one accord obeisance pay!

"The forest beasts their strife forget,
And listen to his beck and word;
"For him the trees with blossoms wait;
The mountains own him as their lord;

"His toil bespeaks a purpose high,
His mien denotes success is near,
"A gentle hermit!—But his eye
Instils a sense of awe and fear!

"If from saints he is descended,
From Daityas sprung, or kingly line,
"I know not, lord ! Nor why in woods
He penance doth and rites divine.
(*Unpublished translation*)

Indra is pleased with the message, for Arjuna is his son, and Indra wishes him success. But nevertheless he is resolved to try the mortal as he tries all anchorites, and sends celestial nymphs to lure the hero from his austere rites. Our author launches into a description of these lovely nymphs in four cantos, describing how they gather flowers and plunge into a river, and appear with renovated beauty before the solitary anchorite.

Pale with penances and rites,
In arms accoutred, calm and great,
Peaceful as the mighty Vedas
Arjuu's self at last they met !

Resplendent in a robe of light,
Alone upon a hill he stood,
Like the beauteous lord of night !
And seemed the god of all the wood !

Pale with penances,—but great !
Unapproachable,—in his peaceful bower !
Alone,—but strong as hosts in might !
A saint,—but wielding Indra's power !
(*Unpublished translation.*)

Such was the hero whom the nymphs meet, and such was the saint whom they vainly try to tempt. The celestial beauties retire, somewhat humbled, and then Indra himself comes in the guise of an old anchorite to dissuade Arjuna from his penances ; even as Kalidasa's Siva comes in disguise to dissuade Uma from hers. The mutability of worldly grandeur the folly of seeking power and fame, the wisdom of seeking true virtue and salvation—all these are pleaded by the disguised god with convincing eloquence ; but Arjuna remains unconvinced and unshaken in his purpose.

"Father ; thy advice is holy,
But alas it suits not me,
As the starry sky of night
Doth not suit the light of day,

For I seek to wash our stain,—
Stain for which this heart hath bled,—
With the teardrops for the slain
By their sorrowing widows shed!

If the hope on which I've rested
Be unreal, idle, vain,
Be it so ;—thy words are wasted !
Pardon, if I cause thee pain.

Till I conquer, crush my foe,
Win again our long-lost fame,
Salvation's self to me were vain,—
Hind'rance to my lofty aim !"

(*Unpublished translation.*)

Indra is not ill-pleased with this unshaken determination, which yields neither to temptation nor to reason ; and the god discloses himself and points out to the hero the way to win the celestial arms he seeks, by the worship of Siva, who alone can bestow them.

Once more Arjuna engages in penances and severe austerities, until the fame of his rigid piety is carried to Siva himself. Siva now comes to meet the pious Kshatriya,—not in the guise of an old man to dissuade him from his religious performances,—but as a warrior wishing to try a warrior's steel. He assumes the guise of a Kirata or wild hunter, and a mighty boar which came to attack Arjuna is slain. Both Arjuna and the disguised god claim the merit of having slain the animal, and thus a quarrel is picked up which leads to a fight, which our author describes in no less than six cantos.

The battle, though full of striking and spirited passages, is nevertheless described in the extravagant style common to Hindu poets. Arms of snakes, arms of fire, and arms of clouds and rain are discharged until the firmament is filled with hissing serpents, roaring flames, or copious torrents of rain ! But all these miraculous weapons are of little avail to Arjuna ; to the hero's great astonishment, the wild hunter replies to every weapon with a mightier one, and is more than a match for the most skilled warrior of the period !

Astonished at the hunter's skill,
Arjuna, conqueror of his foes,

Paused in silence and in doubt,
Misgivings such as these arose !

Warriors great of matchless power
I have met and beaten all.
Doth the sun bow to the moon?
Before the swain shall Arjuna fall ?

Is this magic, is this dream ?
Am I great Arjuna still ?
Why conquers not my mighty power
This mountaineer's untutored skill ?

Rending the sky as if in twain,
Shaking the wide earth's solid frame,
How fights this boorish mountaineer !
Deeds a man disguished proclaim !

Not Bhishma's self nor Drona owns
Such skill to shield, to send his dart !
Can a simple mountain swain
Possess such superhuman art ?"

(*Unpublished translation.*)

At length, deprived of all arms, Arjuna springs on his invincible foe to wrestle him down. The wrestling goes on long, and Siva, no mean wrestler, springs into the air to attack Arjuna, and the latter holds him by the feet to pull him down. This appeal the mighty god cannot withstand ; a faithful worshipper holds him by the feet, Siva reveals himself, and blesses the saintly warrior, and bestows on him the coveted arms by which he is to win back his kingdom and his fame.

Such is the celebrated poem of Bharavi, which does not boast of any interesting plot or any striking creations of fancy. but which is characterised by a force and vigour of sentiment and expression which have given the poem a place among the unperishable works of the ancient Hindus.

Coming now to the seventh century, we know on the authority of the Chinese traveller I-tsing that the poet Bhartrihari graced the age of Siladitya II. Bhartrihari's *Satakas* show that he was a Hindu, but they are nevertheless marked by the Buddhist spirit of the time in which he lived. Professor Tawney of Calcutta has rendered some of them into elegant

and spirited English verse and a few extracts will convey an idea of the original to the reader :—

"Not to swerve from truth or mercy, not for life to stoop to shame ;
From the poor no gifts accepting, nor from men of evil fame :
Lofty faith and proud submission—who on fortune's giddy ledge,
Firm can tread this path of duty, narrow as the sabre's edge ?"

———

"Abstinence from sin of bloodshed, and from speech of others' wives,
Truth and open-handed largess, love for men of holy lives,
Freedom from desire and avarice,—Such the path that leads to bliss
Path which every sect may travel, and the simple cannot miss."

———

"Treachery is of crimes the blackest,
Avarice is a world of vice,
Truth is nobler far than penance,
Purity than sacrifice.
Charity's the first of virtues,
Dignity doth most adorn,
Knowledge triumphs unassisted,
Better death than public scorn."

———

"You are a lord of acres
But we are lords of song ;
And we subdue the subtle,
If you subdue the strong ;
The rich of you are speaking,
In me the wise believe,
And if you find me irksome,
Why then—I take my leave."

———

"What profit are the Vedas,
Or books of legal lore,
Or those long-winded legends
Repeated o'er and o'er ?
What gain we by our merits ?
A dwelling in the skies—
A miserable mansion,
That men of sense despise—

———

All these are huckstering methods—
Give me that perfect way

Of self-contained fruition,
Where pain is done away."

"A hermit's forest cell, and fellowship with deer,
A harmless meal of fruit, stone beds beside the stream ;
Are helps to those who long for Siva's guidance here ;
But be the mind devout, our homes will forests seem."

—C. H. TAWNEY.

The extracts of Bhartrihari given above will enable the reader to appreciate the opinion of Professor Lassen, that it is the terse and epigrammatic character of Bhartrihari's short poems which make them conspicuous among the productions of the Indian muse ; and the perfect art with which they are composed make them worthy of being ranked among the masterpieces of Indian genius.

We have seen before that a Mahakavya known as *Bhatti-kavya* is also probably the work of Bhartrihari. It is the story of the Ramayana told briefly ; the remarkable feature of the work is that it has been written to teach grammar ! All the conjugational forms of verbs which are difficult to remember, and all other difficult derivations of words have been interwoven in melodious verse, so that the student who knows the poem knows Sanskrit grammar also. The poetry does not aspire to the beauty of Kalidasa's poems, or the dignity of Bharavi's work, but the mastery of words and the art of composition are perfect and matchless, and worthy of the author of the epigrammatic Satakas.

Two other Mahakavyas are also generally studied by Hindu students ; but both these are later productions, and belong probably to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the Rajputs had become masters of India. One of them is *Naishadha* of Sri Harsha and the other is *Sishupalavadha* of Magha. The stories of both are taken from the Mahabharata.

Naishadha is the wellknown story of Nala and Damayanti, one of the most touching episodes of the great epic. Dr. Buhler fixes the dates of this poem in the 12th century. The poet is said by Rajasekhara to have been born in Benares, but he was certainly familiar with Bengal ; and Vidyapati, a Bengali poet of the 14th century, claims Sri Harsha to be a

Bengali. It is possible, as has been conjectured, by some antiquarians that he migrated from the north-west to Bengal.

Sisupalavadha, as its name implies, is the story of the destruction of the proud king Sisupala by Krishna. It is a distant imitation of Bharavi's Kiratarjuniya ; and the name *Magha* (a winter month) is probably assumed by the author to indicate that he takes away the glory of *Bharavi* (which means the sun). According to the *Bhoja Pravandha* he was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhara in the 11th century.

The most melodious song that has ever been written in Sanskrit is the *Gita Govinda*, written by Jayadeva of Bengal in the 12th century.

Jayadeva was a poet of the court of Lakshmana Sena, as has been proved by the colophon of an ancient copy of his poem discovered by Dr. Buhler in Kashmir, and he obtained from the king the title of Kaviraja. His poem relates to the loves of Krishna and Radha, and has been rendered with matchless grace and beauty into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold. One extract will suffice. It describes erring Krishna's amours with other nymphs, and describes the gratification of the five senses ; smell, sight, touch, taste and hearing :—

"One with star blossomed champac wreathed, woos him to rest
his head,
On the dark pillow of her breast so tenderly outspread ;
And o'er his brow with roses blown she fans a fragrance rare,
That falls on the enchanted sense like rain in thirsty air ;
While the company of damsels wave many an odorous spray
And Krishna laughing, toying, sighs the soft spring away.

Another gazing in his face, sits wistfully apart,
Searching it with those looks of love that leap from heart to heart ;
Her eyes—afire with shy desire, veiled by their lashes black—
Speak so that Krishna cannot choose but send the message back ;
In the company of damsels whose bright eyes in the ring
Shine round him with soft meanings in the merry light of spring.

The third one of that dazzling band of dwellers in the wood—
Body and bosom panting with the pulse of youthful blood—
Leans over him, as in his ear a lightsome thing to speak,
And then with leaf-soft lip imprints a kiss below his cheek ;
A kiss that thrills, and Krishna turns at the silken touch
To give it back,—Ah, Radha ! forgetting thee too much.

And one with arch smile beckons him away from Jumna's banks,
Where the tall bamboo bristle like spears in battle ranks,
And plucks his cloth to make him come into the mango shade,
Where the fruit is ripe and golden, and the milk and cakes are laid;
Oh ! golden red the mangoes, and glad the feasts of spring,
And fair the flowers to lie upon and sweet the dancers sing.

Sweetest of all that temptress who dances for him now
With subtle feet which part and meet in the Ras measure slow,
To the chime of silver bangles, and the beat of rose-leaf hands,
And pipe and lute and cymbal played by the woodland bands ;
So that wholly passion-laden—eye, ear, sense, soul o'ercome—
Krishna is theirs in the forest ; his heart forgets its home.

CHAPTER XIV

FICTION

INDIA was not better known to the ancient nations for her science and poetry than as the birth-place of fables and fiction ! The oldest Aryan fables that are to be found anywhere are in the Jataka tales, dating from some centuries before Christ, and Dr. Rhys Davids has pointed out that many of them have travelled to different parts of Europe, and have assumed various modern shapes.

The fables of the Panchatantra were probably current in India for many centuries before they were compiled in their present shape in easy and graceful Sanskrit prose. The work was translated into Persian in the reign of Nousharwan (531 to 572 A.D.), and it is certain therefore that the Sanskrit compilation was made in the sixth century, if not earlier. The Persian translation was rendered in Arabic, and the Arabic translation was rendered in Greek by Symeon Seth about 1080. The Greek version was again rendered into Latin by Possinus. A Hebrew translation of the work was made by Rabbi Joel about 1250. A Spanish translation of the Arabic version was published about 1215. The first German translations were published in the fifteenth century, and since then the work has been rendered into all the languages of Europe, and is known as the fables of Pilpay or Bidpai.[1] Thus for many centuries the juvenile population of the world was amused with the simple but ingenious tales of animals which a Hindu compiled from the current folklore of his countrymen.

When we proceed from the sixth to the seventh century we find a great change in Sanskrit prose. More ambitious works were composed, in a style which is more ornate and elaborate, but stilted and artificial. Dandin composed his

1. See Tawney's translation of *Katha Sarita Sagara*, Vol, II. p. 43. note.

Dasakumaracharita probably at the very commencement of the seventh century. The work, as its name signifies, is the story of ten princes who meet with various adventures, most of which are of course supernatural. The style, though sufficiently ornate and artificial, is yet less extravagant than that of Kadamvari.

Banabhatta, the renowned writer of the Kadamvari was, as we have seen before, a courtier of Siladitya II, and was the author of the Ratnavali drama, and of a life of the emperor called Harshacharita. Banabhatta's father was Chitrabhanu, and his mother was Rajyadevi ; and Chitrabhanu died when young Bana was only 14 years of age. Bhadranarayana, Isana and Mayura were among Bana's early friends.

The story of Kadamvari is wild and weird, and too long to tell ;—the same couple of lovers go through more than one life, and still feel the same irresistible attraction for each other. Scenes of overwhelming passion, intense sorrow, irresistible love, and austere penances in wild solitudes are depicted with power and with a wonderful command of language. There is little of *character* in the various personages. They are all carried away by the vicissitudes of fortune, or by torrents of feeling which have the power of fate. It is this which Hindu writers delight in depicting ; of determined efforts of the will in supporting or combating the ordinary ills of life, there are few descriptions in Hindu works of imagination. For the rest, the style of composition, in spite of its wonderful power, is ornate and redundant, laboured and extravagant, beyond all reasonable bounds ; and often the same verbose sentence, with strings of adjectives and long compounds, with a profusion of similies and figures of speech, run through several pages !

Subandhu also lived in the same reign and wrote the Vasavadatta, a shorter tale. Prince Kandarpakatu and princess Vasavadatta fell in love on dreaming of each other ; and the prince went to Kusumapura (Pataliputra), met the princess, and carried her away on an aereal steed to the Vindhya mountains. There he fell asleep, and when he awoke he found her not. On this Kandarpakatu was about to commit

suicide, when a voice from the sky prevented him, and promised him eventual reunion with his beloved bride. After long wanderings, he found a stone figure resembling his long lost wife ; he touched it, and lo ! Vasavadatta waked to life. A holy saint had turned her into stone—with the merciful provision, however, that she would be restored to life on being touched by her husband.

We have yet one or two other important works of fiction to speak of. The Brihat Katha is a collection of fables and tales which were long current among the people in Southern India in the Paisachi dialect. In the 12th century, Somadeva, a Kashmirian by birth, abridged it and put it into Sanskrit in order to console Queen Suryavati of Kashmir, on the death of her grandson Harshadeva ; and this abridged compilation is known as the Katha Sarit Sagara.

In the preface to the work, we are told that the tales were originally told by Katyayana, the critic of Panini and a minister of Chandragupta, king of the Magadhas ; and that they were carried to Southern India by a Pisacha and repeated in the Paisachi language to Gunadhya, who compiled and published them. It is needless to remark that the story connecting the tales with Katyayana is a fiction ; the tales are a product of Southern India, and were originally in the Paisachi dialect.

Somadeva's Sanskrit version, the Katha Sarit Sagara is divided into 18 books and 124 chapters, and contains nearly everything in the way of folklore known in India ! We find in it occasional stories from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, some tales from the Puranas, much of the fables of the Panchatantra, the whole of the twenty-five tales of a demon known as the Betal Pachisi, some of the tales which we believe occur in the Sinhasan Batisi, and many adventures of the great Vikramaditya of Ujjayini. The tales throw much light on the manners and customs and the domestic life of the people.

With regard to Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, we are told that he was the son of Mahendraditya by the queen Saumyadarsana and that he had a second name Vishama Sila (Siladitya ?). We are also told that he was sent to the earth, because the

gods complained of the oppression of the Mlechchhas in India,—and Vikrama fulfilled his destiny and slew the Mlechchhas.

The only other well-known work of fiction is the Hitopadesa, which is merely a compilation of a portion of the older Panchatantra. It is remarkable that all these works of fiction are in Sanskrit, although the Prakrits were the spoken tongues in India in the Puranik Period.

Vararuchi one of the "nine gems" of Vikramaditya's court, is the oldest grammarian who treats of the Prakrit dialects. He distinguishes four distinct dialects, viz., the *Maharastri* or Prakrit, properly so called ; the *Sauraseni*, very similar to the Maharashtri, and like it derived from the Sanskrit ; the *Paisachi*, and the *Magadhi*, which last two are said to be derived from the Sauraseni.

These Prakrit dialects gradually came into use in Northern India from the older Pali language which was the sacred language of the Buddhists, and had been the spoken tongue for a thousand years. Indeed, the political and religious causes which ushered in a new form of Hinduism in the place of declining of Buddhism had undoubtedly some influence in establishing the newer Prakrit dialects in the place of the older Pali.

Political and religious changes have generally been attended in India and elsewhere,—not indeed with sudden changes in the spoken tongue,—but with such changes (slow and gradual in themselves) being authoritatively and suddenly recognized. When the vigorous colonists on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna left behind their old mother country, the Punjab, in learning and civilization, the Sanskrit of the Rig Veda was replaced by the Sanskrit of the Brahmanas. With the rise of Magadha, and of Gautama Buddha Pali replaced the Sanskrit of the Brahmanas. With the decline of Buddhism and the rise of Puranik Hinduism under Vikramaditya, the Prakrits, took the place of the Pali. And lastly, with the fall of ancient races and the rise of the Rajputs in the 10th century was witnessed the rise of the Hindu language which is still spoken in Northern India.

All this is intelligible. But the readers of Kalidasa and of Bhavabhuti will naturally inquire. Did those poets write in a dead language? It is possible to compose a Sakuntala, a Meghaduta or an Uttara Charita in a dead language? Does the history of other nations furnish us with one single instance of such works of matchless beauty being composed in a dead language?

Those who have compared the Prakrits with Sanskrit will find no difficulty in answering these questions. Sanskrit was not a dead language in the Puranik Period in the sense in which Latin is now a dead language in Europe. The difference between Sanskrit and the Prakrits is far less than the difference between the Latin and even the Italian. When the Prakrits were commonly spoken, Sanskrit was still understood and even spoken in courts. Learned men carried on oral controversies in Sanskrit. All proclamations and state manifestos were in Sanskrit. Pandits carried on conversation in the court as in the school room in Sanskrit. Poems were recited and plays were rehearsed in Sanskrit. All men of education and culture understood Sanskrit and often spoke Sanskrit. Probably the common people in towns who spoke the Prakrits understood ordinary easy Sanskrit. The educated and the learned were certainly perfectly at home with Sanskrit. It was the language which they always read, which they often spoke, and in which they composed and thought, and even conversed. Sanskrit was not therefore a dead language, in the Pauranik Period in the sense in which it is a dead language now. And Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti did not compose in a dead language, properly so called, when they wrote the Sakuntala or the Uttara Charita.

CHAPTER XV

CLOSE OF THE ANCIENT AGE

We will now close this rapid and imperfect History of Civilisation in Ancient India. It was impossible within our limits to attempt anything like a comprehensive or exhaustive account of this vast subject. We have rather tried to connect together only the leading facts of Indian History, and to present a connected series of outline sketches, illustrating Hindu Civilisation in successive ages. If in these portraits our countrymen have recognised the features of our ancient forefathers, however indistinctly, our labour has not been thrown away. We now crave their attention for a few moments longer to the last pages of our album, illustrating the social manners and civilisation of the last age of Hindu History anterior to the Mahommedan conquest.

This last age of Hindu History divides itself into two well-marked periods. The manners of the Rajputs of Delhi and Ajmir in the eleventh and twelfth centuries belong to the Modern Age, and were somewhat different from those of the times of Vikramaditya and Siladitya which belong to the Ancient Age. The Rajputs belong to modern history; Vikramaditya and Siladitya belong to ancient history. The dark ages which intervened, in the ninth and tenth centuries, divide the ancient period from the modern period in India.

In the present chapter, we will confine our observations therefore to the civilisation of the Hindus at the close of the Ancient Age, from the sixth to the eighth century. We will attempt to paint the social life of the Hindus of the time of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti; and the immortal works of these and other poets of the period will furnish us with the materials of our picture. In the following chapter we will try to portray the civilisation of the time when the modern age begins, from the tenth to the twelfth century, and we shall obtain our materials from the notes of a thoughtful, learned,

and sympathetic foreigner who has left us records of his impressions.

Kalidasa himself has, in his character of Dushyanta, given us a picture on the great kings of the time,—of Vikramaditya, for instance. We can conceive to some extent the life that was led by the great Emperor of Northern India in the midst of his luxurious and learned tour, his guards and his soldiers. Martial in his demeanour and active in his habits, he delighted in war and in hunting, and often took his soldiers, his chariots, his horses and his elephants in great hunting expeditions in the primeval jungles of India. A fool was as invariably the companion of Hindu kings as of European monarchs in the middle Ages, and the Indian fool was a Brahmana, whose stupid apprehension, gross taste, and occasional witty sayings regaled the leisure hours of the king. Soldiers guarded his palace night and day, while in the inner apartments female guards waited on the king, and were under the orders of and aged and faithful chamberlain. To judge from the poet's account, the great conqueror of the Sakas did not dislike the company of Saka women, who guarded his place and accompanied him in hunting with bows and arrows, and gracefully decked with flowers. Indeed, if we can rely on the tales of the Katha Sarit Sagara, which are valuable because based on the older work Brihat Katha the Emperor of Ujjayini was not very particular as to the race or caste of the lovely damsels whom he wedded one after another, after his numerous adventures. Madana Sundari, a Bhil princess was one of the number and at her wedding her father declared. "And I, my sovereign will follow you as your slave with twenty thousand archers.' The amorous emperor, we are told in the same work, fell in love with Malayavati, princess of Malayapura, on seeing her picture, and with Kalingasena, princess of Bengal, on seeing her figure sculptured in stone in a Vihara ; and it is needless to state that both princessess eventually found admission into the great king's extensive seraglio. (K. S. S., Book XVIII.)

The poet of Vikramorvasi and Malavikagnimitra must have somewhat softened the passionate jealousies and discords which were not unoften witnessed in the royal harem. Royalty

always indulged in a plurality of wives, often for political purposes ; and besides these stately ladies, many a humble and pretty attendant of queen won the favour of the king and was punished by her mistress. In spite of all this, the chief queen was always held in high honour and esteem ; she was the mistress of the household and the share of the king's glory on every state occasion.

Women in humbler life had, like queens, their inner apartments separate from those of the men. The same custom was observed in Europe in the olden days of Rome and Pompei, and Sanskrit poets often describe the peaceful domestic life of the fair inmates of these apartments. But the absolute seclusion of women was unknown even in the Puranic Period. Sakuntala and Malyavati did not precipitately retreat when strangers like Dushyanta and Jimutavahana appeared before them. Malati in the bloom of her youth rode on an elephant to a temple on a festal day, in the midst of a great concourse of citizens, and there met the youth to whom she gave away her heart, and who reciprocated the feeling. In the first or introductory book of Katha Sarit Sagara we find that Katyayana's mother received two unknown Brahmans as her guests and freely conversed with them, and Varsha's wife too previously received the same strangers, and had narrated to them the story of her husband's misfortunes. In the numerous tales contained in this voluminous work, we nowhere find any instance of women in ordinary life being kept in such absolute and unhealthy seclusion as became the custom in later times under the rule of the Moslems. In Mrichhakati, Charudatta's virtuous and modest wife freely coverses with Charudatta's friend Maitreya and in Kadamvari, in Nagananda, in Ratnavali, and in every other classical work, we find the heroine frequently conversing with the friends of her husband. Ladies of the royal household were of course kept under a greater degree of restriction ; but even they were allowed to see the friends of the king. When the ministers of Naravahana Datta came to see his new queen, Ratnaprabha they were announced before they were admitted to her

presence. The queen rebelled even against this necessary formality and said, "The door must not again be closed against the entrance of my husband's friends, for they are as dear to me as my own body" (K. S. S., Chap. 36).

Marriage was arranged by the parents of the bride and the bridegroom. Thus when an offer of marriage was made to Jimutavahana, his companion said, "Go to his parents and ask them," and the parents gave their consent without consulting the young man's inclinations. If, however, we can trust the poets of the period, the ceremony was often performed at a proper age. Malati, the heroine of Bhavabhuti's drama, was still a maiden after she had reached her youth ; Malavika, Malayavati, and Ratnavali were unmarried even when they were in the bloom of their beauty, and the pious Rishi Kanva did not think of giving Sakuntala in marriage until in youth she met Dushyanta and lost her heart. The ceremony marriage was the same as it was in ancient days, and as it continues to the present day. The stepping round the fire, the offering of grain as sacrifice, and the utterance of some promises by the bride and the bridegroom were considered the essential rites.

Girls were taught to read and to write, and there are numerous examples in the classical works of girls writing and reading epistles. In Mrichchhakati, Maitreya says he always laughs when he hears a woman read Sanskrit or a man sing a song ; and however much Maitreya may have disliked it, there can be little doubt from the passage itself that women *did* often read Sanskrit, as men did often learn to sing. Music is frequently alluded to as a female accomplishment. In one remarkable passage in Nagananda we are told that the princess Malayavati sang a song, possessing the treble and bass tones duly developed ; and soon after we learn that she played with her fingers, keeping good time in due divisions of slow, medium, and quick, the three pauses rendered in proper order and the three modes of playing shown in the slow and quick accompaniments.

In the Katha Sarit Sagara (Chap. IX.) we learn that the princess Mrigavati attained wonderful skill in dancing, singing

and other accomplishments before she was given in marriage. Numerous such passages are to be found in classical literature.

Painting too is frequently alluded to as an accomplishment possessed both by men and women ; and we have already alluded to a passage in Nagananda showing that coloured earth was used for painting in ancient India as in ancient Pompei. Uttara Rama Charita opens with an account of some paintings which Lakshmana showed to Sita : and we learn from the Katha Sarit Sagara (Chap. 122) that Nagara Svamin was the painter-laureate of the court of Vikramaditya, and presented the king with pictures illustrating different types of female beauty.

Connubial love has never been described with deeper feeling than by the poets of India. We have already quoted the passage from Uttara Rama Charita describing the tender love of Rama for Sita ; and the reader familiar with Sanskrit literature will no doubt call to mind hundreds of such passages portraying the regard and love of Hindu husbands and the devotion of Hindu wives.[1]

Domestic life, however, is not all poetry, and we get a truer idea of domestic sorrows and troubles from the tales in the Katha Sarit Sagara than from the poetry of Bhavabhuti or Kalidasa. Poverty, bereavement, the contempt or hatred of relations and neighbours, the cruelty of husbands, or the uncontrolled temper of wives often poisoned the peace of home and made life a burden. Not the least galling of all eivls were the differences and disputes amongst members of joint families, or the heartless cruelty of the mother-in-law and sister-in-law towards a submissive wife. The gentle and virtuous Kirti Sena, suffering from such domestic tyranny, exclaimed in sorrow, "This is why relations lament the birth of a daughter,

1. "The Hindu poets rarely dispraise their women ; they almost invariably represent them as amiable and affectionate. In this they might give a lesson to the bards of more lofty nations, and particularly to the Greeks, who, both in tragedy and comedy, pursued the fair sex with implacable rancour. Aristophanes is not a whit behind Euridides, although he ridicules the tragedian for his ungallant propensities."—*Wilson, Theatre of the Hindus* (London, 1871), vol. i. p. 77, *note*.

exposed to the terrors of the mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law" (K. S. S. Chap. 29).

Many passages can be quoted to show that widows were not prohibited from marrying again in the Puranic Age. Yajnavalkya tells us that "a woman who is married a second time is called a remarried woman" (I, 67). Vishnu tells us that a woman who, being still a virgin, is married for the second time, is called a remarried woman, Punarbhu (XV, 7 and 8). And even Parasara, although a modern writer, allows the remarriage of a woman whose husband is dead, or has lost caste, or is become an ascetic (IV, 26). A droll story is told of the daughter of a house-holder of Malava who married eleven husbands successively; and on the death of the eleventh husband the plucky widow would probably have welcomed a twelfth, but "even the stones could not help laughing at her," so she took to the life of an ascetic (K. S. S. Chap. 66).

We have spoken before of the love and devotion of Hindu wives. With the decline of the national spirit and of a due respect for women, this female devotion degenerate into a barbarous custom in the Puranic Age. There is no allusion to the rite of *Sati* in the literature of India previous to the Puranic Period; there is no mention of it in the Code of Manu, or even of Yajnavalkya. It is in Puranic literature that we first trace the rise of this custom.

Suicide by entering the fire was known in India from the time of Alexander the Great, and even earlier. When in the Puranic Age the devotion of wives to their husbands was insisted upon to a greater extent than the regard of husbands for their wives, the form of suicide spoken of above was recommended as a meritorious act more to widows than to others. Thus Varahamihira praises women in his Astronomy because they enter the fire on losing their husbands, while men go and marry again on losing their wives. Nevertheless, the custom was not restricted to women or to widows, even in the Puranic Age. In Malati Madhava, Malati's father makes preparations for mounting the funeral pyre for the grief of his child: and in Nagananda, Jimutavahana's father, mother,

and wife resolve to perish on the pyre for the loss of the prince.

In Katha Sarit Sagara we find a maiden disappointed in love preparing to enter the funeral pyre (Chaps, 118 and 122). And turning from fiction to history, we know that kings perished on the pyre, because they were disgraced in the eyes of their countrymen for submission to Mahmud of Ghazni. It was, in fact, an ostentatious form of suicide when grief or disgrace became unsupportable, and life was cheerless and void. Reprehensible as such suicide always was, it became a cowardice and a crime when men ceased to perform the rite, and imposed it as an honorable act on women alone, to be performed on the death of their husbands. Such practice became a settled custom when the Hindus ceased to be a living nation.

Courtesans of great beauty and accomplishments received in ancient India, as in ancient Greece, a higher regard, and lived a more intellectual and elevated life, than their degraded sisters of modern times. Ambapali, who vied with Lichchavi lords in pomp and pride, and who invited the holy Gautama Buddha to her house, reminds one of Aspasia receiving Socrates in her house. Similarly, Vasantasena, the heroine of the Mirchchhakati, lived in great pomp and splendour; she received the young men of Ujjayini in a public court furnished with a gaming-table, books, pictures, and other means of recreation; she employed skilled artisans and jewellers in her house; she relieved the needy and the unfortunate; and in spite of her trade, was

> "Of courteous manners and unrivalled beauty,
> The pride of all Ujjain"—WILSON.

In the same way we learn from the Katha Sarit Sagara (Chap. 38) that the courtesan Madanamala of Pratishthana, the capital of Southern India, lived in a mansion "that resembled the palace of a king," and had guards and soldiers horses and elephants; and she honoured King Vikramaditya (who had come in disguise) with baths, flowers, perfumes, garments, ornaments, and rich viands. And again from Chap.

124 of the same work we learn that Devadatta, a courtesan of Ujjayini, lived in her "palace worthy of a king."

Ujjayini, we need hardly say, was the proudest town in India in the days of which we are speaking. Genius and beauty, wealth and royal power, combined to shed a rare lustre on this ancient city in the sixth century. Good reasons had the Yaksha in the Meghaduta to ask the cloud not to pass by without a visit to Ujjayini, or else "dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been."

Not daring to disobey such high injunction, we paid a visit to the classic town some years ago. Its ancient glory is gone, the very memories of the past dwell not in its precincts. But nevertheless, as we strolled through its rough-paved stony streets, looked at the quaint old houses darkening the lanes, saw the crowd of simple-hearted people in their native joyousness, and visited the ancient temple of Mahakala, probably built on the very site of the older temple of that name alluded to by Kalidas in Meghaduta, we felt that it was possible, feebly and faintly, to revive the past in one's imagination, and to form some conception of what this town was in olden days. And certainly the exceptionally realistic account of the town given in the Mrichchhakati helps one's imagination not a little. That play will be our guide in our attempt to delineate the past.

Under the shadow of the royal power dwelt the peaceful merchants and bankers in the Exchange or merchants' quarters, Sreshthi-chatvara as the poet calls it. Quiet and unostentatious as Hindu merchants always were, these banker merchants probably had their branch firms in the great towns all over Northern India, carried on extensive operations in silks, jewels, and valuable goods, and concealed in their dark vaults in crowded and narrow lanes enormous treasures and money, which kings and emperors did not disdain to borrow in times of need. Ostentatious only in their charity and religious works, they beautified the town with many a graceful temple, fed and supported priests and Brahmans, and earned a name among their fellow citizens by their good works. To the present day the Setts and merchants of Northern India are

respected for their wealth and their pious acts, and build many a holy temple where Jaina and Hindu worship is performed day by day.

Jewellers and artists flocked in the vicinity of merchants. In the words of the poet, "Skilful artists examine pearls, topazes, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, the lapis lazuli, coral, and other jewels; some set rubies in gold, some work gold ornaments coloured threads, some string pearls, some grind the lapis lazuli, some pierce shells, and some cut coral. Perfumers dry the saffron bags, shake the musk bags, express the sandal juice, and compound essences." These artists found a market all through the known world, and the products of their skill were appreciated in the court of Harun-al-Rashid in Bagdad, and astonished the great Charlemagne and his rude barons, who, as an English poet has put it, raised their visors and looked with wonder on the silks and brocades and jewellery which had come from the far East to the infant trading marts of Europe.

Humbler traders filled other streets, and displayed their clothes and garments and sweetmeats and various other commodities. A stream of joyous and simple-hearted people filled the busy streets all through the livelong day.

But the markets and bazaars were not the only places of public resort; there were others of a more questionable character. Gambling-houses were established under the king's orders—as is still the case in the Continent of Europe,—the master of the table was appointed by the king to maintain orders, and was entitled, according to the Agni Purana, to one-fifth or one-tenth of the winnings as the king's dues. The money which a gambler loses at a gambling-table in the Mrichchhakati is reckoned as ten suvarnas; and a suvarna was undoubtedly a golden coin, which Dr. Wilson estimates at Rs. 8-14.

We know from Sakuntala that there were grog-shops which were frequented by the very lowest castes; while among the courtiers of a luxurious court, and among the profligate and the gay, drinking was not unknown. Bharavi has a canto on the joys of drinking, and Kalidasa too often speaks of

ladies whose mouths were scented with the perfumes of liquor! But the mass of the middle classes and of the cultivating, trading, and industrial classes of Hindus abstained from drink, as they do to this day.

Other vices of large towns were not unknown in Ujjayini. "At this time of evening," says Maitreya in Mirchchhakati, "the royal road is crowded with loose persons with cut-throats courtiers, and courtesans"; and elsewhere in the same play we have a rather elaborate account of a theft performed in Charudatta's house, and the footsteps of the night-watch were heard (as is often the case to the present day) just after the thief had finished his job and retired with the booty! In another place in the same play we are told—

> "The road is solitary, save where the watch
> Performs his wonted round: the silent night,
> Fit season only for dishonest acts,
> Should find us not abroad.—WILSON.

Wealthy citizens rejoiced in a large number of retainers, in spacious courts, and in unquestioning hospitality. We have in Mrichchhakati a somewhat exaggerated account of a wealthy house, from which we can form some conception of wealthy houses generally. The outer door is pretty, the threshold is coloured and well swept and watered, flowers and garlands are hung over the gate, and the doorway is a lofty arch. On entering the first court, is seen a line of white buildings, the walls covered with stucco, the steps made of various stones, and the crystal windows looking down on the streets of the city. In the second court are carriages, oxen and horses and elephants, fed by their *mahouts* with rice and *ghee*! In the third court is the assembly hall, where the visitors are received; in the fourth there is music with dancing and in the fifth is the kitchen. In the sixth court live artists and jewellers employed in the house, and in the seventh is an aviary. In the eighth court lives the owner of the house. It is not likely that any but the most wealthy indulged in such profuse magnificence; but the account gives us some idea of pompous Hindu households. Behind the house is a lovely garden, such as was the delight of Hindu ladies of olden days. Sakuntala was fond of watering her

plants herself, and the Yaksha's wife used to sit in her garden and think of her absent lord.

Besides such extensive residence inside the town, wealthy men had their garden-houses and villas in the suburbs, "far beyond the city," and a taste for such rural villas continues to the present day.

Among the possessions of wealthy men, slaves were reckoned as a very important item. Domestic slaves were bought and sold in ancient India as in every ancient country, and probably most domestic servants in ancient times were slaves. In Mrichchhakati a ruined gambler proposes to sell himself in order to pay his debt. Still more remarkable is another passage in which the paramour of a female slave asks her what money will procure her manumission from her mistress. The well-known story of Harishchandra goes on to say that the Raja sold his wife and child and himself as slaves to pay off a ruthless Brahman's debt, and there are numerous other stories to the same effect. Salvery in a mild form continued in India until recent times.

The ordinary conveyance of well-to-do persons in towns was a kind of covered litter drawn by oxen. Both men and women travelled in such litters, and Vasantasena went in such a litter to meet her beloved Chrudatta in a garden outside the town. Any one who has travelled in a bullock-cart (as the present writer has) over the roughpaved streets of Ujjayini must know that the lady's journey, like the course of her true love, was not particularly smooth. Horses were not unoften used as means of conveyance, and in Chapter 124 of the Katha Sarit Sagara we find that a Brahman Devasvamin fetched his wife from her father's house, the lady being mounted on a mare, and having a maid with her. Cars drawn by horses were probably only used by kings and lords and warriors in battle, or in hunting expeditions, as we find in Sakuntala.

A solitary and invaluable picture of the practical administration of justice in the ancient Hindu times is given in Mrichchhakati. A Brahman, Charudatta, is falsely accused by a profligate villain with the murder of Vasantasena, the

heroine of the play. The villain, we should mention, calls himself the king's brother-in-law. Kings were not very particular in their amours, and thus it happened that brothers and relations of the women of low caste whom kings took into their palaces were provided with high places in the police. From numerous descriptions of such characters by Kalidasa and other poets, we learn that such upstarts made themselves the pests of society, obnoxious to good men, and the terror of the humble and lowly.

Such a cruel upstart, Vasudeva by name, had done his best to kill Vasantasena, whose love he had vainly courted before, and then falsely accused Charudatta with the crime, because the woman had loved Charudatta. The judge enters the court with the provost and the scribe (Kayastha), and Vasudeva enters his charge against Charudatta. The judge is unwilling to take up the case on that day, but knowing the influence of the complainant with the king, takes it up, and even puts up with his insolent behaviour in court. Charudatta is summoned.

The simple and good-hearted Brahman enters the court, and his description of it will amuse many a modern reader, and will also give us some idea of the imps of the law who were employed in olden days :—

"The prospect is but little pleasing.
The court looks like a sea ; its councillors
Are deep engulphed in thought ; its tossing waves
Are wrangling advocates ; its brood of monsters
Are these wild animals, Death's ministers.
Altorneys skim like wily snakes the surface.
Spies are the shell-fish cowering midst its weeds,
And vile informers, like the howering curlew,
Hang fluttering o'er, then pounce upon their prey.
The beach that should be justice, is unsafe,
Rough, rude, and broken by oppression's storms."*

—WILSON

* "That the translator may not be thought to have had an English rather than an Indian court in his eye, he enumerates the terms of the original for the different numbers of which it is said to consist *Mantrins*, councillors · *Dutas*, the envoys or representatives of the parties ; the

We need not go into the details of the evidence, but appearances certainly go very much against Charudatta. Nevertheless the judge refused to believe that good man guilty of the abominable crime, and says to himself, "It were as easy to weigh Himalaya, ford the ocean, or grasp the wind as to fix a stain on Charudatta's reputation." But the circumstantial evidence becomes stronger, and the judge feels that by law he ought to decide against Charudatta, but nevertheless does not feel convinced as to the facts. According to his homely but forcible simile, "the points of law are sufficiently clear here, but the understanding still labours like a cow in a quagmire."

In the meantime Charudatta's friend enters the court, and with him are discovered the ornaments of the woman said to be murdered. This seals Charudatta's fate. The judge presses him to speak the truth, and even threatens him, and Charudatta, heart-broken at his own disgrace, overwhelmed by the evidence which is heaped against him, and sick of life on hearing that his beloved Vasantasena is no more, confesses, as many an innocent man has confessed, to a murder he has not committed.

The Judge orders "the convicted culprit, being a Brahman, he cannot according to Manu be put to death, but he may be banished from the kingdom with his property unattached."

The king, however, cruelly modifies this sentence into one of death. The cruel order of the king is introduced by the poet as a sin which he expiates soon after. A revolution overturns his rule, he is killed in battle by an usurper, and Charudatta is saved when on the point of being executed, and gets back his beloved Vasantasena, who had been left as dead by the cruel Vasudeva himself, but who had not died. The infuriated mob wish to kill the base culprit, the relation of

wild animals, Death's ministers, are *Nagas* and *Asvas*, elephants and horses employed to tread or tear condemned criminals to death ; the *Charas* are spies or runners ; *Nanavasakas*, disguised emissaries or informers ; and *Kayasthas* are scribes by profession who discharge the duties of notaries and attorneys."—*Wilson*.

the late king, but the magnanimous Charudatta saves his life from the mob, and says "Set him free." "Why so ?" asks the mob, Charudatta replies with the genuine Hindu maxim—

> "A humbled foe, who prostrates at your feet
> Solicits quater, must not feel your sword."
>
> —WILSON.

CHAPTER XVI

COMMENCEMENT OF THE MODERN AGE

In the last chapter we have tried to give a brief sketch of Hindu life and civilisation at the close of the Ancient Age from the writings of the great Hindu authors who flourished in the sixth and succeeding centuries. But it is always a gain to see ourselves as others see us, and we propose in the present chapter to draw a similar sketch of Hindu civilisation at the commencement of the Modern Age, from materials supplied to us by a cultured and larger-hearted foreigner, Alberuni, who wrote in the eleventh century.

The value of Alberuni's work on India has long been known to scholars, but a scholarlike edition and translation of it had hitherto been wanting. Dr. Edward C. Sachau has now removed the want, and has performed an eminent service to the cause of Oriental research and of Indian history.

Alberuni, or, as his compatriots called him, Abu Raihan, was born in 973 A.D, in the territory of modern Khiva. When Mahmud of Ghazni conquered Khiva in 1017, the eminent scholar was brought to Ghazni as a prisoner of war. It is probably this circumstance which made him look on Hindus with the sympathy due to fellow-sufferers from the conquest and oppression of Mahmud; and while he never hesitates to point out what he considers blemishes in Hindu civilisation and literature, he has at least taken the pains to study that civilisation and literature in a catholic spirit rare among later Mussalman writers, and he never withholds the need of praise where praise is due.

Of Mahmud's rackless work of destruction in India, Alberuni speaks with deserved animadversion. "Mahmud," he says, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouths of the people. Their scattered

remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places." (Chap. I.)

With regard to the Hindus, the fact which struck Alberuni most unfavourably was their complete isolation from other nations of the earth, their ignorance of the outside world, their want of sympathy and communication with other peoples whom they call *Mlechchas*. "They are" says Alberuni, "by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created being besides them have any knowledge of science whatever. Their haughtiness is such that if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. *If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is*" (Chap. I.)

In political matters, too, India was in the last days of her decline when Alberuni wrote. The vast country which had owned the sway or the supremacy of the great Vikramaditya in the sixth century, was now parcelled out among petty kings and chiefs, all independent of each other, and often warring with each other. Kashmir was independent and was guarded by its mountains ; Mahmud of Ghazni had tried to conquer it, but failed ; and the brave Anangapala. who had vainly tried to oppose the march of Mahmud, had at one time fled to that secluded region. Sindh was cut up into petty principalities ruled by Moslem chiefs. In Gujrat, Mahmud's invasion of Somnath or Pattan had left no lasting result ; the Rajput dynasty, which had wrested the ruling power in the land from the Chalukyas before the time of Mahmud, continued to rule there after Mahmud's invasion of Somnath.

Malwa was ruled by another Rajput race, and Bhojadeva, who ruled for half a century, from 997 to 1053, was an enlightened patron of letters, and revived in his capital at Dhara the memories of the reign of Vikramaditya the Great.

Kanouj is said to have then been subject to the Pala kings of Bengal, who generally resided at Monghyr. Rajyapala of Kanouj had been plundered by Mahmud in 1017, and in consequence of this a new capital had been founded of Bari, where Mahipala lived and ruled about 1026. Both these rulers, like all the Palas of Bengal, are said to have been of the Buddhist persuasion ; but Buddhism as a national religion had almost died out in India in Alberuni's time.

The country round Kanouj was called the *Madhyadesa* by the people because it formed the centre of India, a centre, as Alberuni states, "from a geographical point of view," and "it is a political centre too, because in former times it was the residence of their most famous heroes and kings" (Chap. XVIII.).

Alberuni gives distances from Kanouj to several important places which continue to be important towns to the present day. He speaks of Mathura, which "has become famous by Vasudeva" ; of Prayaga or Allahabad "where the Hindus torment themselves with various kinds of torture which are described in the books about religious sects" ; of "the famous Baranasi" or Benares ; of Pataliputra, Monghyr and Ganga-sagara or the mouths of the Ganges. In the south he speaks of Dhara and Ujjayini ; in the north-west of Kashmir and Multan and Lahore ; and away from the centre of India he speaks of the fabled causeway of Rama, and of the pearl banks of Ceylon, as also of the Maldive and Laccadive islands (Chap. XVIII.).

From an account of the country we turn to an account of the people. Alberuni makes some brief remarks on the caste-system, from which we are able to see that the Vaisyas—the great body of the Ariyan people—were fast degenerating to the rank of Sudras. In one place we are told that between the Vaisyas and the Sudras "there is no very great distance" (Chap. IX). Elsewhere we learn that the Vaisyas had already

been deprived of their ancient heritage of religious learning ; that the Brahmans taught the Veda to the Kshatriyas ; but "the Vaisya and Sudra are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce or recite it" (Chap. XII). Again, we are told that "every action which is considered as the privilege of the Brahman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire is forbidden to him, to such a degree that when—*e.g.*, a Sudra or a Vaisya is proved to have recited the Veda,—he is accused by the Brahmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off (Chap. LXIV).

Let the reader compare this account of the Vaisya's status with that given by Manu, and he will have before him the history of the gradual degeneracy of the *nation*, and the growing power of *priests*. The descendants of the Vaisyas, who had an equal right with Brahmans to learn and recite the Veda and to sacrifice to the fire, came, after the religious and political revolutions of the ninth and tenth centuries, to be classed with Sudras, and considered unworthy of religious knowledge ! Kshatriyas still held their own as long as India was a free country, but lost their glory and independence after the twelfth century. And then the bold myth was proclaimed that the Kshatriyas too as a caste had, like the Vaisyas, ceased to exist, that all who were not Brahmans were Sudras—all equally incapable of reciting the Veda and sacrificing to the fire ! Does the modern reader wish to go beyond this spacious myth of the extinction of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and desire to know what has really become of them and their descendants ? He will find them classed under new names (Kayastha, Vaidya, Vanik, Svarnakara, Karmakara, &c.), as new castes unknown to Manu and Yajnavalkya. And room has been kindly provided for these new castes, *formed out of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas*, in the growing list of "mixed castes" which Manu had *reserved for aborigines like Nishadas and Chandalas* ! But modern education is gradually opening the eyes of the people, and the great Hindu nation is learning to demand its ancient religious and social privileges as it is rising to a consciousness of its national and political life.

Below the Sudra, eight *Antyaja* castes are recounted by Alberuni, viz., the fuller, the shoemaker, the juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, the fisherman, the hunter of wild animals, and the weaver. The Hari, Doma, and Chandala were considered as outside all castes (Chap. IX).

It is a relief to turn from the subject of caste to that of the manners and customs of the people ; but even here we find Hinduism in its last stage of degeneracy. We are told that "Hindus marry at a very young age," and that "if a wife loses husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things—either to remain a widow as long as she lives, or to burn herself ; and the latter eventually is considered the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives" (Chap. LXIX). We have seen that early marriage was not the usual custom in the Puranic Age, and it is clear therefore that it became the general custom among Hindus at the commencement of the Modern Age. The same remark applies to the rite of *Sati*.

About marriage customs we are told that parents arranged marriages for their children, that no giffs were settled but the husband made a gift in advance which was the wife's property (*stridhana*) ever after. Marriage was forbidden among parties who were related to each other within five generations. Every man of a particular caste could, under the ancient law, marry a woman of his own caste, or one of the castes below his. But this practice had fallen into disuse ; caste had become more rigid, and "in our time, however, the Brahmans, although it is allowed to them, never marry any woman except one of their own caste" (Chap. LXIX).

The account of the festivals, given by Alberuni, of the Hindus of the eleventh century reads not unlike an account of Hindu festivals in the present day. The year commenced with the month of Chaitra, and on the eleventh day of the moon was the *Hindoli Chaitra* (the modern *Dola*), when the image of Krishna was swung to and fro in a cradle. On the full-moon day was the spring festival (the modern *Holi*), a festival specially for women. We have found some account of this festival in the dramatic literature of the early Puranic Age.

Both the *Ratnavali* and the *Malatimadhava* open with an account of this festival, which was sacred to the god of Love. But Krishna, in modern times, has supplanted the ancient god of Love, and the modern *Holi* represents the festival of that ancient god.

The third day of the moon in Vaisakha was the *Gauri Tritiya*, when women performed ablutions, worshipped the image of Gauri, and lighted lamps before it, offered perfumes, and fasted. From the tenth day of the moon to the full moon, sacrifices were performed before ploughing fields, and commencing the annual cultivation. Then came the vernal equinox, when a festival was held and Brahmans were fed.

Jaistha is the month for fruits in India, and on the first day of the moon the first-fruits of the year were thrown into the water for obtaining a favourable prognostic. On the full-moon day there was a festival for women, called *Rupa Pancha*.

The month of Asadha was devoted to alms-giving, and households were provided with new vessels.

On the full-moon day in Sravana banquets were again given to Brahmans.

In the month of Asvayuja sugarcane was cut, and at a festival called the Mahanavami, the first-fruits of sugar and other things were presented to the image of Bhagavati. On the fifteenth, sixteenth, and twenty-third day of the moon there were other festivals, accompanied by much merriments and wrangling.

The month of Bhadrapada was full of celebrations. On the first day of the moon alms were given in the manes of the fathers. On the third day there was a festival for women. On the sixth day food was distributed to prisoners. On the eighth day there was a festival called *Dhruvagriha*, and pregnant women celebrated it to obtain healthy children. On the eleventh day there was a festival called *Parvati*, in which a thread was offered to the priest. And after the full-moon day the whole half-month was devoted to festivals. These festivals of the eleventh century have now been replaced by more

pompous Pujas,—those of Durga and other goddesses and gods.

On the first day of the moon in Kartika was a festival called Dewali. A Great number of lamps were lighted, and it was believed that the goddess Lakshmi liberated Bali, the son of Virochana, in that one day in the year. This was the ancient form of the Dewali festival, with which the worship of Kali is now connected, just as the worship of Krishna is now connected with the ancient festival to the god of Love.

On the third day of the moon in Margasirsha (Agrahayana) there was a feast for women in honour of Gauri. And there was another feast for women on the full-moon day.

Pausha was celebrated in those days, as it is now, with a variety of sweet dishes. We have seen that this very sensible way of celebrating in winter was known even in the centuries previous to the Christian Era.

On the third day of the moon in Magha, there was a feast for women in honour of Gauri. Other festivals followed in this month.

On the eighth day of the moon in Falguna, Brahmans were fed, and on the full-moon day was the *Dola*. The following night was the *Sivaratri* dedicated to Mahadeva (Chap. LXXVI).

The account of festivals given above will convey some idea of popular religion and religious practices. There were idols and temples, too, scattered broadcast all over India, which attracted numerous pilgrims and devotees. Alberuni speaks of an idol of Aditya or the sun in Multan, of one of Chakrasvamin or Vishnu in Thanesvara, of a wooden idol called Sarada in Kashmir, and of the famous idol of Somnath—a Sivalinga—which was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni (Chap. XI). About the linga of Somnath, our author tells us that Mahmud, after destroying the upper part, transported the remainder to Ghazni, with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels and embroidered garment. Part of it was thrown into the hippodrome of the town, and part of it was kept at the door of the Ghazni mosque, so that people might

rub and clean their feet on it. Such was the fate assigned to the idol which was daily washed by water brought from the Ganges and worshipped by flowers from Kashmir ! The great importance of the Somnath linga was due to the fact that the town itself was a centre of maritime trade and a harbour for seafaring people (Chap. LVIII).

Benares had already become the most sacred place in India, and men repaired there in their old age to end their lives in the holy city. The holy lakes of Pushkara, Thanesvara, Mathura, Kashmir, and Multan are also alluded to, and no doubt attracted vast crowds of pilgrims (Chap. LXVI). The Hindu custom of excavating great tanks with spacious flights of stairs in holy places is much praised by our author. "In every place to which some particular holiness is ascribed the Hindus construct ponds intended for ablutions. In this they have attained to a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Muslims), when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them. They build them of great stones of an enormous bulk, joined to each other by sharp and strong camp irons, in the form of steps for (or terraces) like so many ledges ; and these terraces run all round the pond, reaching to a height of more than a man's stature" (Chap. LXVI).

Among the multitude of gods and goddesses whom the Hindus worshipped, Alberuni had no difficulty in marking out the three principal gods—the deities of the Hindu Trinity—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Mahadeva the Destroyer. Alberuni further tells us that these three deities form a Unity, and herein "there is an analogy between Hindus and Christians, as the latter distinguish between the three *persons*, and give them separate names, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but unite them into one *substance*" (Chap. VIII).

That Alberuni carefully studied Hindu religion and institutions, will appear from the fact that beyond the multitude of Hindu goods worshipped by the common people—beyond even the Trinity spoken of above—our author grasped the true nature of pure and philosophical Hinduism—the Monotheism of the Upanishads. He repeatedly tells us that the multitude

of gods is for vulgar belief ; the educated Hindus believe God to be "one, eternal, withoul beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving."

"The existence of God they consider as real existence, because everything that exists, exists through him" (Chap. II).

This is pure, refreshing, life-giving religion ; it has the true ring of the ancient Upanishads, which are among the noblest works that have been composed by man. The historian only regrets that this noble faith became the exclusive property of the educated few, that the common people were referred to idols and temples, to unmeaning rites and unhealthy restrictions. Why should the people be led on poison in a land where the nectar stream of an ancient and life-giving religion flowed perennial ?

Elsewhere Alberuni speaks of the Hindu idea of transmigration of souls, of every act in life bringing its reward or punishment in the life to come, and of final emancipation derived by true knowledge. *Then* "the soul turns away from matter, the connecting links are broken, the union is dissolved. Separation and dissolution take place, and the soul returns to its home, carrying with itself as much of the bliss of knowledge as sesame develops grains and blossoms, afterwards never separating from its oil. The intelligent being, intelligence. and its object are united and became one" (Chap. V).

Of the administration of law some interesting account is given. Written plaints were generally filed, in which the case against the defender was stated. Where no such written plaint was filed, oral complaints were received. There were different kinds of oaths, having different degrees of solemnity, and cases were decided on the testimony of witnesses (Chap. LXX).

All foreign visitors have commented on the extreme mildness of the criminal law in India, and Alberuni compares it with the leniency professed by Christians, and adds some shrewd remarks which deserve to be quoted. "In this regard the manners and customs of the Hindus resemble those of Christians, for they are, like those of the latter, based on the principles of virtue and abstinence from wickedness, such as

never to kill under any circumstances whatsoever ; to give to him who has stripped you of your coat also your shirt ; to offer to him who has beaten your cheek the other cheek also ; to bless your enemy and to pray for him. Upon my life, this is a noble philosophy ; but the people of this world are not all philosophers. Most of them are ignorant and erring, who cannot be kept on the straight road save by the sword and whip. And indeed, ever since Constantine the victorious became a Christian, both sword and whip have ever been employed, for without them it would be impossible to rule" (Chap. LXXI).

The punishment for a Brahman murderer who killed a man of another caste was expiation, consisting of fasting, prayers, and almsgiving. But if a Brahman killed another Brahman, the punishment was banishment and confiscation of property. In no case was a Brahman offender punished with death. For theft the punishment was in accordance with the value of the stolen property. In serious cases a Brahman or Kshatriya thief might be punished with loss of hand or foot, and a thief of lower caste might be punished with death. A woman who committed adultery was driven out of the house of her husband and banished (Chap. LXXI).

Children inherited the property left by the father, a daughter getting a fourth part of the share of a son. A widow did not inherit, but was entitled to support and maintenance as long as she lived. Heirs in the direct line, *i.e.*, sons, grandsons. &c., inherited in preference to collateral heirs as brother ; and the debt of the deceased devolved on the heir (Chap. LXXII).

In matters of taxation Brahmans enjoyed the same indulgence as in punishment for offences. One-sixth of the produce of the soil was the tax due to the ruler ; and labourers, artisans, and trading classes also paid taxes, calculated on their incomes. Only Brahmans were exempt from all taxes (Chap. LXVII).

With regard to Hindu literature, Alberuni begins his account with the Veda, which he says was transmitted by memory, because it was recited according to certain modula-

tion, and the use of the pen might cause some error. He repeats the story that Vyasa divided the Veda into four parts the Rik, Yajus, Saman, and Atharvan, and taught one part to each of his four pupils—Paila, Vaisampayana, Jaimini, and Sumantu. He gives us the names of the eighteen books into which the Mahabharata in its present shape is divided, and also makes mention of its continuation the Harivansa ; and he also tells some legends from the Ramayana. He names eight grammarians—Panini and others—and gives us some account of Sanskrit metre ; and he also tells us something of the Sankhya and other schools of philosophy, although his information is not always derived from the original works of these schools. Of Buddha and Buddhism his account is meagre, vague, and erroneous. He tells us of the twenty works on Smriti, Manu, Yajnavalkya, and others. He gives us two different lists of the eighteen Puranas, and the second list corresponds exactly with the eighteen Puranas as we have them now. This is an important fact for the student of Hindu literature, as it shows that all the eighteen Puranas were composed before the eleventh century of the Christian Era, although they have been altered and added to in subsequent ages. On the other hand, we have no mention in Alberuni's work of the Tantra literature. And lastly, Alberuni, being himself a clever mathematician, gives us a long account of Hindu astronomers, Aryabhatta, Varahamihira, and Brahmagupta, and of the five astronomical Siddhantas (Surya, Vasistha, Pulisa, Romaka, and Brahma), which were condensed by Varahamihira. Alberuni specially praises Varahamihira as an honest man of science, and states that the astronomer lived 526 years before his own time, *i. e.*, about 505 A.D.

It is not necessary for us to go into the long and learned account which Alberuni gives of Hindu astronomy. His criticisms are sometimes erroneous ; but on the whole he tries honestly to comprehend and explain the system of which he speaks. He gives us the names of the twelve Adityas, *i. e.*, the names of the sun in the twelve months of the year, viz., Vishnu of Chaitra, Aryaman of Vaisakh, Vivasvat of Jyaistha, Ansa of Asadha, Parjanya of Sravana, Varuna of Bhadra,

Indra of Asvayuja (Asvina), Dhatri of Kartika, Mitra of Margasirsha (Agrahayana), Pushan of Pausha, Bhaga of Magha, and Tvashtri of Falguna. He states correctly that the names of the Hindu months are derived from the Hindu names of lunar constellations: Asvina from Asvini, Kartika from Karttik, Margasirsa from Mrigasira, Pausha from Pushya, Magha from Magha, Falguna from Purva Falguni, Chaitra from Chitra, Vaisakha from Visakha, Jyaishtha from Jyeshtha, Ashadha from Purvashadha, Sravana from Sravana, and Bhadra from Purva Bhadrapada. He gives us the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac, adopted by the Hindus from the Greeks, who had adopted them from the Assyrians. And he also gives us the Hindu names of the planets, Mangala for Mars, Budha for Mercury, Vrihaspati for Jupiter, Sukra for Venus, and Sanichara for Saturn (Chap. XIX).

Alberuni further tells us, and it is a remarkable fact for Hindu Students to know, that some idea of the law of gravitation was known to Hindu astronomers. Brahmagupta, as quoted by Alberuni, says, "All heavy things fall down to the earth by a law of nature, for *it is the nature of the earth to attract* and to keep things, as it is the nature of water to flow, that of the fire to burn, and that of the wind to set in motion." Varahamihira also says: "*The Earth attracts that which is upon her.*" (Chap. XXVI). Alberuni also alludes to Aryabhatta's theory, of which we have spoken before, that the earth revolves in its axis, the heaven does not turn round as appears to our eyes (Chap. XXVI). That the earth is round was also known to Hindu astronomers, and the circumference of the earth was stated to be 4800 yojanas (Chap. XXXI).

Alberuni also tells us of the precession of the equinoxes, and quotes Varahamihira, that whereas the summer solstice took place in the midst of Aslesha and the winter solstice in Dhanishta in olden times (in the Epic Age, when the Vedas were finally compiled, as we have seen before), the former now (in Varahamihira's time) takes place in the Cancer, and the latter in Capricornus (Chap. LVI). Alberuni further goes into the subject of the heliacal rising of the stars, and tells us how the mythical story of Agastya (Canopus) ordering the

Vindhya mountains to wait until his return, arose out of astronomical observations on the heliacal rising of the Canopus. Into these and various other interesting matters of which our author speaks we cannot enter.

The geography of India was pretty well known to the Hindus both before and after the Christian Era : witness the Buddhist Scriptures and the accounts in Kalidasa's poetry and Varahamihira's astronomy. But nevertheless in orthodox Hindu works, we often find the mythical account of the configuration of the earth, with its seven concentric seas and seven concentric islands ! The central island is Jambu Dvipa, surrounded by the salt sea ; round it is Saka Dvipa, surrounded by the milk sea ; round it is Husa Dvipa surrounded by the butter sea ; round it is Krauncha Dvipa, surrounded by the curd sea ; round it is Salmali Dvipa, surrounded by the wine sea ; round it is Gomeda Dvipa, surrounded by the sugar sea; and last of all is Pushkara Dvipa, surrounded by the sweet sea (Chap. XXI, quoting from the Matsya Purana). A more rational account of the provinces of India is quoted by Alberuni from the Vayu Purana. The Kurus, Panchalas, Kasis, Kosalas, &c., were the central people. The Andhras (in Magadha), Vangiyas, Tamraliptikas, &c., were in the east. The Pandyas, Keralas, Cholas, Maharashtras, Kalingas, Vaidharvas, Andhras (in the Deccan), Nasikyas, Saurashtras. &c., were to the south. The Bhojas, Malavas, Hunas (Huns then possessing a part of the Punjab), &c.. were to the west. And the Pahlavas (Persians), Gandharas, Yavanas, Sindhus, Sakas, &c., were to the north (Chap. XXIX).

Alberuni gives us some account of Hindu arithmetic and numbers—a science in which the Hindus beat all nations on the face of the earth. "I have studied the names of the orders of the numbers in various languages," says Alberuni, "and have found that no nation goes beyond the thousand," *i. e.*, the fourth order of numbers, commencing from the unit. But the Hindus "extend the names of the orders of numbers until the eighteenth order, and this is called the Paradha (Chap. XIV).

Our author also speaks of the various kinds of alphabet

in use in India, the *Siddhamatrika* used in Kashmir and in Benares, the *Nagara* used in Malwa, the *Ardhanagari*, the *Marwari*, the *Sindhava*, the *Karnata*, the *Andhri*, the *Draviri*, the *Gauri*, &c.. The last named is no doubt the Bengali alphabet. Various materials, too, were used in various parts of India for writing—the *Tal* leaf in some places, the *Bhurja* in Nothern and Central India, &c. (Chap. XVI).

A chapter is also devoted to Hindu medical science. The science seems to have always been the monopoly of a few, and much superstition was mixed up with it. Ignorant pretenders professed through *Rasayana* to turn old age into youth, and to work many other wonders, and thus preyed on the more ignorant public. As in the Middle Ages in Europe, so in India, the greediness of kings to convert metals into gold knew no bounds, and pretenders prescribed many dark and even inhuman rites to work this wonder.

Indeed, in many respects the tenth and eleventh centuries in India resembled the Middle Ages in Europe. A noble religion had become the monopoly of priests, and had been all but smothered with childish legends and image worship. War and sovereignty were the monopoly of another caste, the Rajput Kshatryas of India, and the feudal barons of Europe, who had both come to the forefront from the struggles of the preceding Dark Ages. The people were ignorant, dispirited, enslaved, in one country as in the other. The last of the poets of the Augustan and Vikramadityan ages had disappeared, and had left no successors. The great names in science and learning were also a memory of the past ; none had appeared again to take their place. And, as if to make the parallel complete, the last remains of the Latin and Prakrit-Sanskrit spoken tongues were replaced by modern languages,—the Italian, French, and Spanish in Europe, and the Hindi, &c., in India. The people were kept in ignorance, fed with unwholesome superstition, beguiled with gorgeous and never-ending festivals. Everything bore the appearance of disintegration and decay ; and national life seemed extinct.

But here the parallel ends. The sturdy feudal barons of Europe soon mixed with the people, fought the people's battle

in the field, the council board or the counting-house, and thus infused a new and vigorous life in modern nations. In Idnia, and the Rajput Kshatriyas, isolated from the people, soon fell a prey to foreign invaders, and were involved in a common ruin.

After six centuries of national lifelessness, there are indications of reviving life. There is a struggle in the land to go beyond the dead forms of religion, and to recover what is pure, nourshing, life-giving. There is an effort to create a social union which is the basis of national union. There are beginnings of a national consciousness among the people.

It may be England's high privilege to restore to an ancient nation a new and healthy life. Under the vivifying influences of modern civilisation, ancient races in Greece and in Italy have begun a new intellectual and national career. Under the fostering protection of the British crown, new nations are progressive in self-government and civilisation in America and in Australia. The influence of civilisation and the light of progress will yet spread to the shores of the Ganges. And if the science and learning, the sympathy and example of modern Europe help us to regain in some measure a national consciousness and life, Europe will have rendered back to modern India that kindly help and sisterly service which India rendered to Europe in ancient days—in religion, science, and civilisation.

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